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THE LIFE OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CECIL JOHN RHODES

VOL. II

Rhodes' Death Mask

THE LIFE OF THE RT. HON.

CECIL JOHN RHODES

1853–1902

BY

THE HONOURABLE SIR LEWIS MICHELL

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, CAPE COLONY

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VOLUME II

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THE RIGHT HON.
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CHAPTER XXIII

RHODES AT HOME

His home life and character—His appearance and habits—Erects house on Lo Bengula's Kraal—Lives in huts in the Matopos—His negligence in money matters—Anecdotes—Purchase of Groote Schuur—Erects country house—Formation of park—Partiality for simple life—Characteristics summed up.

WE have had glimpses of Rhodes under various aspects. We have seen him at work cotton-growing and diamond winning. We have seen him enter the arena of public life, not ill-equipped for the contest. We know how he bore himself before the world, both in business and in politics. But what of his private life? In what aspect did he present himself in his own home, under his own roof-tree, and among his more intimate friends? The answer is unambiguous. He was wholly lovable. In the strain and stress of great affairs he could be at times abrupt, hard and repellent, but the mood was a passing one. His steel-blue eyes were curiously changeable in expression, he had a quaint break at times in his voice, and his handshake, with a crooked finger, was a thing to be remembered. But unless aflame at meeting crass stupidity, he was kindness itself, especially to those who needed kindness

most. In his own house he was an incomparable host, a delightful and stimulating companion, a thoughtful and affectionate friend. If his political antagonists refuse to say of him, without qualification, what Fitzpatrick said of Charles James Fox, 'A patriot's even course he steered 'mid faction's wildest storms unmoved,' no man who knew him well will refuse to complete the famous quatrain and say of him, 'By all who marked his mind, revered, By all who knew his heart, beloved.'

The modern cult of the simple strenuous life, so often preached, so seldom practised, had in him a devout worshipper. Simplicity was his dominant note. Like 'Caleb Garth,' hard work was his creed. The brilliant trifler, the elegant lounger, were his abomination. His love of cleanliness was very remarkable, and he would not camp out in the veld if a jam tin were found at the place selected. In his early days in Natal he was content to live in a Kafir hut, and on the Diamond Fields in a tent. When he and Dr. Jameson forgathered at Kimberley in 1878, they shared an unpretentious bachelor establishment in a modest cottage on the main street. Indeed, intimate as was his association with Kimberley, he never had a residence there. He built an admirably planned model village for his white workmen, but he built no house for himself. In his later years and during the siege, he resided at the Sanatorium, a place he was instrumental in erecting for the comfort of English invalids, of whom he was always mindful, as he was of the poor consumptive second-class passenger, of whom we have already had a glimpse as voyaging with him to Natal in early days.

It was the same in Rhodesia. Near Bulawayo, on

the very site of the Royal Kraal of the last of the Matabele kings, he built a commodious residence as a Government House. On the lawn still stands the tree of judgment under which Lo Bengula sat and decreed nameless tortures for small and sometimes imaginary offences. Its gnarled and twisted trunk no longer grows on open veld, but amid a trim parterre designed by the skill of a landscape gardener. It is a grim, dumb witness to an era of cruelty that, thanks to Rhodes, has for ever passed away. The house is comfortable, the prospect agreeable, the seclusion complete, but Rhodes did not care to live there. In full view of the mansion, across the wide plain, rises, on the horizon, the mournful hill of Thabas Induna—the scene of a still-remembered Matabele tragedy—but even the historical associations of the place could not tempt him. From the house, towards the town, runs the mile long avenue which he planted for the sake of future generations. 'You say,' he remarked to a friend, 'that I shall not live to see those trees grow. I tell you that in imagination I already see people passing and repassing under their shade.' But even this did not move him to reside there more than occasionally. Urgent business made upon him a higher claim and, as a rule, he preferred to occupy a small and uncomfortable cottage on the main street of the dusty town. It was the same in the Matopos, where, later on, he made his home and his grave. Amid a riot of hills encircling a singularly beautiful valley, he erected, not a house, but a group of native huts and lived there in perfect happiness. No European house intruded on the tranquil scene until he had passed away.

It was the same when he purchased a series of properties in the valley of the Drakenstein near Cape

Town. They were studded with fine examples of those old Huguenot homesteads in which his soul delighted. But he occupied none of them. Their former owners, a simple, kindly, hospitable folk, were permitted to remain in undisputed possession, and he built himself a tiny cottage on the mountain-side, looking down upon a panorama of enchanting loveliness. While an ordinary member of the Cape Parliament, he lodged at a small private hotel or took his meals at a club. Long after he had amassed a fortune, his personal expenditure was inconsiderable, though his generosity to others was suspected to be unstinted. I say suspected, because no man knew. He was very reticent about his bounty, nor did he allow his right hand to know what his left hand did. He had mastered the profound secret that a man's life does not consist in the things that he possesses.

Soon after he became Prime Minister, I undertook, at his request, to supervise his household and other expenditure, and subsequently he tricked me into holding his power of attorney, alleging that it was to meet a temporary absence from the Colony. When he returned I sent him back the document, but he refused to receive or revoke it, and I held it till he died. By his express desire I not only paid away such amounts as were legally due by him, but made grants and donations at my discretion. To a banker brought up in the strictest tenets of his sect, he was an undoubted trial. He once lost a diamond worth £70, but he took no steps to recover it. In such matters he was habitually careless. He never had any money in his pocket, and his banking account was frequently overdrawn. He refused to check or investigate any financial statements I submitted to him, nor did he ever know what

he was worth until I framed a balance-sheet for him. The compilation of the document was a work of difficulty, and research. His securities were often found to be registered in the names of third parties. Some were in the pockets of disused coats and some in obscure corners of his escritoire. He never kept a set of books or a list of sums due to him. Secretaries of public companies were apt to complain that his dividend warrants were unduly outstanding, and he had to be searched ere they could be found. When I sequestered his cheque-book in his own interests, he issued cheques on half sheets of note-paper, and on some occasions signed them in pencil. While in Rhodesia during the Matabele war, his heart bled for the pecuniary losses suffered by 'his settlers,' as he called them, and in the space of a few weeks he called on me to disburse more than £16,000 to relieve the distress. When the rinderpest ravaged the Cape Colony and threatened the destruction of his valuable wild animals in the paddocks of Groote Schuur, I telegraphed to him at the instance of the Veterinary Department, suggesting the temporary exclusion of the public from the estate, in order to minimise the risk of infection. Promptly came back the uncompromising answer, 'Certainly not: the place belongs as much to the public as to me.'

On one occasion I received a remittance from a trader in a small village in the Northern Transvaal, who wrote that Rhodes had set him up in business years before, and, having prospered, he now desired to repay the loan with interest. Upon my mentioning the fact to Rhodes, he only snorted indignantly at the world in general, remarking, 'And yet they say men are not honest!' On another occasion I remarked to him, 'You don't seem to care for money.' 'For its own sake, no,'

he replied emphatically, 'I never tried to make it for its own sake, but it is a power, and I like power.'

I was once weather-bound at a wayside shanty in Mashonaland, kept by two German storekeepers, brothers. On hearing that I knew Rhodes, one of them exclaimed, 'Ah! he is a white man all through. We are on the old Portuguese boundary, and our farms were delimited as being on the Rhodesian side. Owing to endless red tape at Salisbury, we failed to get title and decided to approach Mr. Rhodes direct. I had met him once, but only once, and had been of some slight service to him, but it was long ago and I could not expect him to remember me. We hesitated to trouble him while the Matabele war lasted, but when that was over and we learnt he was coming out *via* Beira and must pass our door, we determined to interview him. But the day before he arrived we heard his house was burnt to the ground and that he was much distressed, so we agreed not to worry him. Well, he came and outspanned at our place and, greeting me by name, he reminded me of our last interview and asked was there nothing he could do for us? Then we spoke up. He was very angry, and walked up and down like a bull in a ring fence, but he got on the wire at the next station, and within a week we received our title, with an apology for the long delay.'

Many such illustrations of the human interest he took in all sorts and conditions of men might be given. When he arrived at Groote Schuur after the fire he found that his bedroom had been saved. I went over very early the following morning and, walking into the room as usual, addressed him by name. But the figure in the bed, when it turned towards me, was not that of Rhodes, but of his Secretary. 'I am down with

fever,' said a weak voice, 'and the chief made me turn in here. You will find him in the corridor in a blanket.' And so I did. Another Secretary was once summoned to join him in the De Beers Railway car, a somewhat ornate vehicle. He found a large party dressed for a public function, and being himself in flannels, felt awkward. Rhodes, noticing this, inquired the reason, and thereupon without a word abruptly left the compartment, returning shortly in his oldest suit to put the Secretary at his ease! He once sent a coat to a tailor to be done up, and received for answer that, except as to the buttons, it was worthless and past repair. In fact, the only demand he made on clothes was that they should be loose and easy fitting. It was the custom with the bank I represented and which was the Government Bank, for the Chief Manager to pay a formal call on each successive Prime Minister. When Rhodes took office I did so, and found him in his shirt sleeves, and his first words were, 'If you think I am going to put on my coat for you, you are mistaken.'

I have described the homeliness of his houses. There was, of course, one notable exception in Groote Schuur, which has been painted and photographed more often perhaps than any other private residence. When he became Prime Minister, he resolved to build a house not for show, but for comfort, and not for his own comfort so much as for that of others. Taking a wide view of his social responsibilities, he desired to entertain on a scale suitable to the dignity of his high office, and, in addition, to save the beautiful slopes of Table Mountain from the desecrating hands of the ordinary builder, whose covetous eyes were already turned in that direction. The majestic appearance of Table Mountain from the sea is known to all travellers in the

Southern hemisphere. Its long, level ridge, broken by but one immense cleft, struck the early navigators with awe. In the first days of the settlement its sides were clothed with indigenous forests, the haunt of lions and leopards. Kipling says of it:—

> 'Hail! snatched and bartered oft from hand to hand,
> I dream my dream, by rock and heath and pine,
> Of Empire, to the Northward. Ay, one Land
> From Lion's Head to Line!'

Early in the seventeenth century, the authorities of the Dutch East India Company, finding Cape Town unpleasantly wind-swept, began to build, here and there, on the slopes of the Hill whose summit towered 3600 feet above them. Some excellent soil was found at the base of the mountain, a few miles away from the settlement. Farms and cattle posts were gradually established, where now stand residential suburbs embowered in trees. The early Dutch, unlike their descendants, were keen afforesters, and planted an oak avenue in the town and another at Nieuweland, the present Newlands. At De Rondedoorn Boschje (Rondebosch) they erected a granary with a residence for the Superintendent, and hence its name De Schuur. In 1791, the Company, being short of funds, sold the place to a burgher, Hendrik Christian, who divided it into two lots, calling the larger De Groote Schuur, and the smaller, Klein Schuur. The former passed successively into the hands of the Du Toit and Hofmeyr families, but in 1868 was purchased by a De Smidt. From 1873 to 1876, during Sir Henry Barkly's Governorship, it was used as his country residence. Subsequently it came into the hands of a well-known Dutch lady of good family, Mrs. Van der Byl, who modernised the name to the Grange. Sir Hercules Robinson lived there for a

time, but the place was leased to Rhodes in 1891 and purchased by him in 1893. Characteristically, he at once renamed it Groote Schuur, and rebuilt the house in the Huguenot style, with a thatched roof. It never was a 'lordly pleasure house,' but a country gentleman's comfortable mansion, simple in design but extremely picturesque. The interior was remarkable for its lavish use of teak, but there was no superfluous ornamentation anywhere. The enclosures and fences on the estate are all of unusual size and strength. You can recognise a Rhodes gatepost anywhere by its massive construction. Rhodes gradually acquired, from various holders, 1500 acres of surrounding land, on which he planted oaks, camphor-wood and other trees, formed sheltered hydrangea beds, constructed roads and mountain paths, and paddocks for wild animals, threw the estate open to the public, and finally left it by Will to the first Prime Minister of a South African Confederation. The house was burnt to the ground in 1896, and priceless specimens of antique Dutch and French furniture perished in the fire, but the library was saved, and also the fine bronze panel over the front entrance representing the landing of Van Riebeeck on the sixth day of April, in the year 1652.

Rhodes at once rebuilt the house on the same spot, and on the same lines, only enlarging the servants' quarters and substituting Dutch tiles for the thatched roof. It was on these premises, as I have just described them, that Rhodes for several years kept a truly open house. Its hospitable doors were open to both nationalities, and to the ever-increasing stream of distinguished strangers from the mother country. One did not know the real Rhodes until one sat at his table and

heard him discourse at large on the great political events and social questions of the day, or, at rarer intervals, on those profounder problems of the future, to which he bent a forward and far-seeing gaze. The freedom he allowed the public was sometimes a severe trial to his friends. On one occasion, a picnic party bivouacked on the marble stoep in front of the house, and commenced to unpack a hamper there. 'Shall I turn them off?' said an impulsive companion. 'No, I 'll go myself,' replied the master. Opening the front door he stepped out, much to the dismay of his visitors, who probably thought the house was unoccupied. 'Good morning, my friends,' said Rhodes, 'sit there and enjoy yourselves, but please don't light a fire on the stoep.'

Yet even the tranquil splendour of a modern residence was, in the long run, less to his taste than a dwelling where he could rough it at his ease. For some time prior to his death, he grew to dislike Groote Schuur, and as all the world knows, he finally breathed his last by the seashore in an unpretentious cottage, surrounded only by two or three devoted friends.

It must not be thought that the urbanity, which sat so well on Rhodes in his own house, was wholly lacking in his intercourse with the outside world. He took, on all occasions, a singularly human interest in the welfare of young men, and read their characters with discernment. To the younger officials of the House of Assembly he was gracious and polite. One of them writes to me, 'When he was Prime Minister I naturally saw much of him. He did not himself take charge of the work of the House: I mean in regard to the Order list, but he often came into my room while the House was sitting, and would interest himself in anything that he found

interested me, so much so that in a few minutes I seemed to have nothing more to tell him. At one time I drafted a semi-public scheme for him, which he introduced into the House in a lengthy speech. He was so pleased with the details I had worked up for him, that he walked up and down my room, trying to give substance to his appreciation without hurting me with bald flattery, and he ended by insisting on subscribing towards several public institutions, to double the amount I had been persuaded to suggest. These subscriptions were continued till his death. He appeared to me to have an immense capacity for business, but he made things seem so simple that one was apt to overlook the genius that made them so.'

Another and older friend, a member of the House, writes, 'For years I was frequently at his house and he at mine. He used often to come over on Sunday mornings and chat over men and things, but above all, about the foundations of Life and Being as he regarded them. We seemed, at such times, to live in the atmosphere of that wide horizon which surrounded him like a halo. If the Colossus had feet of clay, they were hidden, but the splendid reach of his intelligence was fully revealed.'

To an old Kimberley acquaintance, who had left the country but who wrote from England that, although their lives had drifted far apart, he would like to see him once more were it but for five minutes, he replied:—

'Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town.
(*No date, but date on envelope* 5 *Dec.* 1890.)

'My dear G——,—I am very glad you wrote to me. I should like to see you again, not, as you say, for five minutes, or with endless fellows waiting, but away

down the river (the Modder River near Kimberley) to talk over old times and modern difficulties.'

Rhodes was very fond of discussing the various points of English politicians, and there was one member of the Gladstone Government of 1892 whom he cordially detested. He told me once how he had found himself seated next him at a dinner-party in London, and was so bored with him that in the middle of one of his arguments on some political problem he turned away from him and began talking to his other neighbour. 'It was very rude of me, I know,' he said, '*very* rude. People who live in London can't do these things—I *can*. I can do it on the basis of a barbarian!'

An old pioneer, invalided from Rhodesia by fever, once called at Groote Schuur for relief. Out of work, out at elbows and reduced to a pitiable state from privation, he was about to venture to state his case, when, to his inexpressible delight, he was hailed by name. The Chief had recognised him despite all changes. Putting his hand on the man's shoulder, Rhodes said, 'Not a word: a good square meal first!' And to the kitchen he took him for that purpose, telling him to return to the stoep afterwards. He then heard his story and gave him an order on his Secretary in town to give him money for what clothes he wanted, and telling him to return the next day, which he did. He found Rhodes in a passion. 'You only took ten shillings.' The man had been ashamed to ask for more. Rhodes at once took him into town in his own cart, went himself to the outfitters, completely clothed him, and gave him money and a free pass back to his work. 'I never,' he said, 'forget an old face.'

On being accused once of changing his views rather

hurriedly, he replied, 'Yes, as hurriedly as I could, for I found I was wrong.'

'Every day,' he said, later in life, 'I try to become humbler, but it is hard.'

Once, when twitted with his preference for young men, he retorted, 'Of course, of course, they must soon take up our work; we must teach them what to do and what to avoid.'

On another occasion, his sentimental attachment to the Boers was made the matter of a jest. 'They were the Voortrekkers,' he replied, 'the real pioneers. They have always led the way. It is your business to see that our flag follows.'

When he travelled, he read Plutarch's *Lives*, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and he literally pored over the map of Africa. But the only novel I ever heard him praise was *The Choir Invisible*.

He took a great interest in the Society of Jesus and was sincerely attached to several of the Jesuit Fathers, whose self-sacrificing labours in Rhodesia he readily and repeatedly recognised. His admiration for the world-wide organisation of the Salvation Army is also well known.

But I have said enough. The anecdotes of others and my own personal memories crowd upon me. Let it suffice to record that in private life, and especially under his own roof—even more especially, perhaps, under the vault of heaven in those long treks which he so much enjoyed—he was a fascinating personality, attractive in the highest sense of the word, at times wayward and, to strangers, even taciturn; but as a rule with a charm all his own, which no man I have ever met with could successfully resist, and which

impelled almost all men, with whom he was brought into contact, to own that behind that 'immense and brooding spirit' there existed a heart of gold, a heart quick and eager to respond to every call, however vast, that humanity could make upon it.

His daring speculations on the future of the Empire, and of the world, will be remembered by many, and the depth of his conviction that the greatness of England is traceable, not obscurely, to the parish churches near which the 'village Hampdens' lived unregarded lives and sleep their last sleep in forgotten graves. 'He could project his mind,' says a correspondent, 'into the future as easily as one turns the pages of a book.'

There is one trait in the character of Rhodes to which I feel bound to refer with disapproval. For many years he allowed himself to be persuaded that indiscriminate almsgiving had its reward, that loyalty could be purchased by *largesse*, and that bread thrown upon the waters always returned after many days. But injudicious charity proved at times a curse, not only to himself but to the recipient. This he saw before he died. In March 1901, he wrote to me as follows:—

'As to —— he is like many plants, or I should say, *trees*; once you start watering them you must continue to do so. —— was well watered for many years, but it was thought unjust that he should require it for ever, so watering was stopped. He first became threatening, and finally abusive. Moral, don't water.—

Yrs., C. J. RHODES.'

In Mr. Mortimer Menpes' *War Impressions*, compiled by his daughter (A. and C. Black, 1901), there is a

beautiful chapter on Rhodes in relation to his private life. Any one desirous of obtaining a transient glimpse of the real Rhodes—Rhodes at home—should not fail to study this fascinating record of the inner life of a truly great man.

CHAPTER XXIV

RHODES IN RHODESIA (1891)

Visits England—His fourth Will—Anecdotes—Returns to the Cape—Speaks to the Bond—Borckenhagen angry—Rhodes writes to the Bond—Speaks at the Paarl—Speaks in Parliament—The Bank Act—Writes to other Colonial Premiers—Writes to Stead—Transvaal Raid into Rhodesia is headed off—Political affairs—Rhodes in Durban—Visits Pietermaritzburg—Lands at Delagoa Bay—Lands at Beira—Dispute with local authorities—Proceeds up Pungwe River—Reaches Macequece—Reaches Umtali—Met by Dr. Jameson—Arrives at Salisbury—Meets Lord Randolph Churchill—Continues his journey—Visits Mazoe—And Charter—And Victoria—And Zimbabwe—De Waal on the country—Rhodes arrives at Fort Tuli—And Macloutsie—Visits Palapye—Sees Khama—Arrives at Mafeking—At Vryburg—At Kimberley.

I HAVE already referred to the abortive attempt made by Rhodes in 1890 to enter Mashonaland in the track of his pioneers, and how the High Commissioner exercised his influence, and even his authority, to place a practical veto on the adventure. Rhodes, while eventually bowing to what was undoubtedly a judicious decision, fully resolved, however, to visit the new Territory and judge of its capabilities at the earliest possible moment. I left him, it may be remembered, at Kimberley, where he arrived in November 1890 from the Transvaal, and where he was just in time to take part in the festivities that marked the completion of the railway to the Diamond Fields on 3rd December. Early in 1891, he again proceeded to England on urgent business, where he is said by Mr. W. T. Stead to have executed his fourth Will, dated in March. It must have been executed very early in

March, because there is evidence that he was back at Kimberley before the close of that month.

One of the reminiscences furnished to me by a correspondent deals with this period, and may, therefore, be given here. 'You ask me when I first met Cecil Rhodes,' he says. 'I think it was early in the year 1891, if he was in England during that year. I was in the House of Commons at the time, as member for ——, the centre of an agricultural district, and I was what perhaps you may call a "Bimetallic heretic," with a view to finding some remedy for the terrible depression affecting agriculture. I remember having an argument with him on the subject. He was much opposed to me, arguing that the balance would be set right by natural causes, and that South Africa would take a leading part in reviving prices by the increased production of gold. I said that the agricultural depression had lasted for a long time and was becoming more acute, that I and my neighbours were being slowly but surely ruined, and that I was seeking for the true remedy. Rhodes argued that the English farmer, as we knew him, was an anachronism, and that he must either conform to the new order of things or perish. I remember being much struck by the ease with which he brushed aside what I had to say. In after years he often reminded me of our discussion. Once, during the Matabele war, we were on the march one lovely moonlight night, expecting a sharp engagement at daybreak, when he suddenly said, "How glorious this, and how lucky you are to be here! But why are you here? Because turnips did not pay in ——shire. Had they paid, you would have remained an average country gentleman and a fairly respectable member of Parliament. How much better to be here under the stars, thinking out great problems

and taking your part in a much more direct and practical way towards the development of the British Empire"; and I shall always recollect when I was leaving for home at the end of the campaign, and was saying good-bye to him at his lonely camp in the Matopo Hills, how, in his quick shy way, he exclaimed, "I have very few friends in the world now: don't forget me."'

The object of Rhodes in returning very hurriedly from England to South Africa was the necessity under which he lay, as a practical politician, of cementing his alliance with the Bond before the commencement of the approaching session of the Cape Parliament. In compliment to their new ally, the Bond had decided to hold their annual Conference for 1891 at Kimberley itself, and it was, of course, important that Rhodes should be there. He accordingly, on landing at Cape Town, pushed on at once for the Diamond Fields, thereby fluttering the dovecotes of the metropolis and somewhat scandalising his Ministerial colleagues. He arrived in Kimberley just in time to attend a banquet given to the Bond on the evening of Easter Monday, and to propose the toast of welcome to that great organisation. His speech can only be briefly summarised here. He opened by referring to his having just arrived from England, where he had received the highest consideration from politicians and the honour of dining with Her Majesty, and then went on to say, 'In the past it would have been an anomaly for one who possessed the confidence of Her Majesty's Government to come to such a gathering as this, but I feel entirely that the aspirations of the Bond are now in complete touch with loyalty to the Queen. I come here, therefore, to show that there is no longer anything antagonistic between the people of this Colony and

the mother country, provided that the latter recognises the principle of Colonial self-government, and our capacity to deal with every internal question that may arise. The only time I ever differed seriously from the Bond was when I saw that you were relying too much on a sentimental regard for the Republics. At one time you were prepared to let the whole of the Northern Territories go from you, in the vain belief that, at some future period, they would be returned to you. But my rule is never to abandon a position. I have no antagonistic feeling to the Transvaal, but if your ambition is the union of South Africa, the Colony must keep as many cards as it may possess. That idea dominated me in the settlement of Bechuanaland, and in regard to Zambesia. It is not for us to interfere with the independence of the neighbouring States, but it is for us to seek to obtain Customs relations, railway communication and free trade in products with them. It took me twenty years to amalgamate the Diamond Mines here. It was done in detail, step by step, and so our Federation will be done in detail, and you must educate your children in this policy. I may meet with opposition in carrying out my ideas, but I will never abandon them. If you desire the cordial co-operation of the English section of the country, remember that we have been trained at home, we have our history to look back upon, but we believe that, with your help, it is possible to obtain closer union and complete self-government, but you must not ask us to forfeit our loyalty and devotion to our mother country.'

This was plain speaking. Rhodes was willing to work with the Bond, but his terms were stated with precision. There was no novelty in his attitude.

He had for years, with much pertinacity, endeavoured to raise their political standard, which was local and parochial. His desire was to broaden their narrow ideals and teach them the elements of a wider patriotism, so that they and their children might grow up in the sound belief that their primary duty was to their own Colony and to the great Empire of which it formed a part, rather than to the petty and ephemeral Republics on their borders. His speech made a deep impression. The Kimberley correspondent of a London paper declared that the Congress was effusively in his favour, only one member, for purely local and personal reasons, being anti-Rhodes. Throughout South Africa and England the speech came in for much mutually destructive criticism. Imperialists of the jingo type denounced him for his working alliance with the Dutch. The sombre shadow of Majuba still rested on the minds of many excellent men. Borckenhagen, on the other hand, the German Editor of the irreconcilable *Free State Express*, fiercely assailed him as planning the eventual incorporation of the Republics in a Federation whose flag would be that of England. That there should be no possible misconception as to his desire to welcome the Dutch in Rhodesia, but only under that flag, Rhodes, a few days later, wrote the following important letter to the Bond (17th April 1891):—

'To the Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the Afrikander Bond.

'SIR,—I have been asked, in consequence of the meeting of the Afrikander Bond, which, I am informed, is to be held this afternoon, to place in writing, for the information of its members, my own ideas about the

settlement, subject to the approval of His Excellency the High Commissioner, of that portion of the territory proclaimed as within the sphere of British influence, which is at present in the possession of the Chartered Company, and I take this opportunity of doing so. The regulations regarding mining which, as you are aware have already been published, provide, *inter alia*, for the security of tenure by the individual miner of his claims, and render "jumping," which was so fruitful a source of trouble in other countries, impossible. Deep levels are likewise unknown, the claim-holder following the reef through all its dips and variations. These mining regulations have been accepted generally as liberal and satisfactory. As regards the land, I think that, so soon as a settlement becomes possible, farmers accustomed to practical farming should be invited into the country in order to personally occupy and work farms whose size will naturally vary according to their suitability for pastoral or agricultural purposes. The manner in which the farms should be given out is a subject for future consideration, depending in a great measure upon the number of applicants. Should the applications exceed in number the farms available, I should then suggest that a committee of representative men (from amongst the applicants) should be appointed for the purpose of selecting and sending in the names of those whom they consider to be the most suitable farmers for the occupation and working of a new country. Although an arrangement has been already made for the admission of over one hundred farmers from the Transvaal, and although there will be no objection, when opportunity offers, for the admission of others from the Transvaal, Free State, and other South African communities, still I can give the assurance

that in the final settlement of the country, with the consent of the High Commissioner, no undue preference will be shown to them over Her Majesty's subjects who may desire to proceed from this Colony or from elsewhere. In order to pave the way for this, I would suggest that a deputation should proceed from the Cape Colony for the purpose of inspecting and reporting upon the country. My idea is that farms should be given out subject to a reasonable annual quit-rent, and that none of the farmers should be handicapped at the outset by being called upon to pay a capital amount upon their land, so that whatever funds they may possess should be available for the stocking and development of their properties. Every intending farmer will be required to sign a declaration that on entering the territory he will be under the flag and conform to the Chartered Company's laws, which will be based in principle on those of the Cape Colony, with the right of appeal from the local courts to the Supreme Court in Cape Town. I should greatly value any practical suggestions which your members might have to make on this question of a land settlement in a new country, but I must tell you now that the Chartered Company cannot permit any other than those who are willing to place themselves under its jurisdiction to enter the territory. It is stated that a trek is being organised in the Transvaal by certain persons, who, in defiance of the concession granted by Lo Bengula, the paramount chief of the country, intend attempting to enter the territory for the purpose of setting up a new republic there within the proclaimed sphere of British influence, independent of, and antagonistic to, the Chartered Company. Bearing in mind the fact that the Pioneer force and the Company's police, composed exclusively

of South African English and Dutch Colonists, marched in last year under circumstances which it was generally believed in the Transvaal laid them open to certain attack from the Matabele, and bearing in mind the fact that the country has been occupied at the sole expense of the Company, after an expenditure of half a million of money, I refrain from criticising the action and motives of those who are the instigators of such a step. All I can assure you is, that I consider it my bounden duty to assert the rights obtained by the Company by resisting such a trek, although at the same time quite prepared, as I have already stated, to give consideration to persons desirous of going from the Transvaal or from the other South African communities. And, before closing, it may be just as well for me to repeat what I have all along maintained since the day I consented to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, that should from any cause, such, for instance, as this, the interests of the Cape Colony and those of the Chartered Company be considered to clash, I shall at once place my resignation as Prime Minister in the hands of His Excellency the Governor, rather than have it imputed to me that I am sacrificing the interests of the Colony; and very deeply though I should regret my severance from you, I will proceed, so far as is in my power, with the development of those interior regions on which my heart has so long been set, and where it has steadily been up to the present one of my aims to secure a fair share for your people, and for those who may come after them.—I am, Sir, Your obedient servant, C. J. RHODES.'

Following up this trenchant letter, Rhodes again visited the Paarl, where, on 23rd April, he de-

livered an important speech, in which, *inter alia*, he said :—

'It has been borne upon my mind of late that the best thing for a Prime Minister to do is to make as few public speeches as possible, and especially is this the case in South Africa, for in South Africa we have to deal with the feelings of the English people who have lent us all the money we have borrowed; we have to deal with the sentiment of the neighbouring Republics; we have to deal with the development of the Northern territory, and then with the little sister colony of Natal. I defy any one to make a speech as Prime Minister of this Colony without hurting the feelings of some one. I was reflecting only to-day that the *Cape Times* has thought it worth while to spend a couple of hundred pounds on a cable from England, giving a criticism from the London *Times* of my speech at Kimberley; and when I read that criticism I discovered that the English people were not satisfied with me. They think that I am too Afrikander. Then I have just received the *Free State Express*, in which Mr. Borckenhagen slates me in the most fearful language because I am too much an Englishman. I mention this to show you the difficulty in which one is placed. But I do feel that I am steering the right course between Jingoism on the one side and sensitive feelings on the other, if I confine myself to stating what is the policy of the people of Cape Colony. I have to thank the gentleman who has proposed my health, for the statement of the fact that I am not devoting my mind solely to imaginative schemes in the North, but am carefully considering the interests of this Colony, and amongst other things the industry in which you are all so deeply interested, I mean the wine industry. I will take you into my confidence

to-night, and say that when I was at home and was talking to the Prime Minister of England, I said, "If you wish to retain the sentiment of the colonies, you must consider day by day how you can give the people some commercial advantage, and thus show them that the tie with England is one that is of practical advantage to themselves." I told him that in 1858 or 1860—I am not quite clear which—we had an arrangement, so far as our wine was concerned, which induced the English people to purchase our wines, and to work them up into wines for the people of that country, basing my statements upon the fact that Mr. Gilbey, the great wine importer, had told me that until the change in the duty he imported very largely from the Cape, and had intended putting a great deal of capital into the trade with the Cape. As it was, however, he had bought vineyards in France, and imported wine from France and Spain, and even from Greece. When I discussed this with Lord Salisbury, I adopted the suggestions I had had from Mr. Hofmeyr about a differential rate, and said the greatest tie England could make with the Cape Colony was to return to the system of 1858. I therefore agree with the gentleman who has proposed my health, that we must in these matters look more deeply than into sentiment, and that the right course for the English people is to offer this Colony some preferential tariff in regard to their wines over the wines of France and Spain, and so give them a practical commercial advantage.'

Speaking of Rhodesia and the threatened Boer trek, he added, 'Now, that is the position. And what am I threatened with? I will tell you in very simple language. Your young men, because they are your young men, have gone up sixteen hundred miles,

have slept in their boots every night, and have felt they would be murdered at four o'clock in the morning —oh, yes! every one said so, from the President of the Transvaal downwards. They went right through; however, and took the country; but I now own to you that, of all my troubles, that was the most pressing, for I felt I ought to be with them; and when at last I found that they were through to Fort Salisbury, I do not think there was a happier man in the country than myself. But let me continue the story. What has happened since? They have taken the country; and I have continued the position I took up. I kept on taking any one of your people who cared to come to me, and I am preparing a land settlement on that basis. I have asked you to send men to report on the country so that we shall not idly take them away with no prospect. I have done all these things, and now what has happened? A gentleman named Mr. Adendorff, and Mr. Barend Vorster and Mr. Du Preez, say they are going to take the result of the labours of your sons. When I came down from Tuli I visited Pietersburg, and I met Mr. Vorster and Mr. Adendorff. I saw them on several occasions, and Mr. Vorster finally came to me and said he had got a local grant from a native chief and wanted me to buy it. I said I did not recognise local chiefs as against the chief of the country, but if he would send the grant to me I would look it over and give it careful consideration, though I said to him frankly that I had not much opinion of his grant. He said, "If you don't buy it, I shall give you trouble." I then saw the Rev. Mr. Helm, who was astounded at what I told him. It is a new country, and your young people have taken it. It is no question of the kind that arose in the Transvaal. It is a question of a new

country, which your people have tried to rescue from barbarism and add to civilisation. But these people came to me, and said unless I gave them so many thousand pounds they would induce ignorant farmers to go in and murder our people in the country. That is the case as it stands; you cannot get out of it. I hope you won't be annoyed at this. Because I would not give Mr. Barend Vorster and Mr. Adendorff a certain sum of money, they have threatened me in the Zoutpansberg that they would give me trouble. And that is the case; and those ignorant farmers in the Transvaal are being rushed in this way. You know that all who desire to come into this new country, whether they come from the Transvaal, from the Cape Colony, from Natal, or from the Free State, are only too welcome. I have no feelings as to where a man was born; all I desire to know is whether he is a good man, and then I want him. Now, when these gentlemen say they are going to take from my young men their rights, and dispossess them of the results of their labours, then I confess I do lose my temper; and I tell you to-night that if they continue with it, and if these people will not accept our rule and law, then there will be a difference between us, and I may have to leave the position which I at present hold. But I know that, if I had not taken up the attitude I have, they would have got into great trouble with Her Majesty's Government, and we might have had troubles again like that which occurred at Majuba. Now if these troubles were to occur with people whose independence was taken away, you might have some sympathy with them; but I ask you what sympathy you can have with people who, when pioneers have made an effort to lift a country from barbarism, and when it

is proved that the Matabele need not be feared, rush in and commit an action of this sort! It is not fair or right. South Africa will say it is not fair, and I feel confident I have the feeling of South Africa when I say it is a wrong thing.'

The only other speech of importance made by Rhodes this year was delivered in Parliament, on a proposal by Hofmeyr to increase the voting power of those who possessed a certain property or educational qualification. The object of the measure was indirectly to reduce the power of the native vote, which was felt on both sides of the House to be a menace to the Colony, while, at the same time, it was recognised that its direct withdrawal was impolitic. As a compromise, Rhodes was in favour of the proposal, but his Cabinet was not unanimous on the point, and he declined to do more than give an undertaking to consider carefully the whole question during the recess. One of his colleagues, Sauer, moved an amendment, which Hofmeyr accepted, and the motion was then carried by 45 to 33. Much legislation of a quiet useful kind characterised the Cape Session of 1891, no less than 38 Acts receiving the Royal assent. A couple of railway measures, and a valuable Fencing Act were passed, and a Colonial Medical Council was set up. Local option in regard to liquor licences was, for the first time, established, and the Deeds Office was reformed. But the two principal enactments were attributable to the losses and sufferings inflicted on the community by the recent failure of the Cape of Good Hope Bank, as also by that of an important English Life Assurance Company. A measure was, therefore, adopted, requiring such assurance companies to deposit with the Colonial Secretary adequate security for the perform-

ance of their contract obligations; while a stringent Bank Act was passed, not without opposition from many quarters, owing to the drastic nature of its provisions. The principle of a completely protected note issue was laid down, as well as of the publication of periodical balance-sheets occasionally of a 'surprise' nature, so as to prevent what, in London, is known as 'window dressing.' But Rhodes was determined that bank depositors should be safeguarded, so far as this can be arranged without the responsibility of the State; and Mr. Merriman, in whose hands the measure was placed, steered it through all obstacles with conspicuous tact and ability, with the result that, for the last twenty years, the Banking institutions of the Colony have carried on their business with satisfaction both to their shareholders and to the public, recurrent crises have been avoided and confidence has never, in the most anxious times, been for a moment shaken.

During this session, Rhodes found time to write to Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, and to Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales. Both letters bear date the 8th May 1891, and deal with questions of Tariff Reform and Colonial Preference. The letter to Sir John Macdonald was as follows:—

'DEAR SIR,—I wish to write and congratulate you on winning the elections in Canada. I read your manifesto and I could understand the issue. If I might express a wish, it would be that we could meet before stern fate claims us. I might write pages, but I feel I know you and your politics as if we had been friends for years. The whole thing lies in the question: Can we invent some tie with our mother country that will

prevent separation? It must be a practical one, for future generations will not be born in England. The curse is that English politicians cannot see the future. They think they will always be the manufacturing mart of the world, but do not understand what protection coupled with reciprocal relations means. I have taken the liberty of writing to you, and if you honour me with an answer I will write again.—Yours,

'C. J. RHODES.

'*P.S.*—You might not know who I am, so I will say I am the Prime Minister of this Colony—that is, the Cape Colony.'

He also seems to have written, with colloquial freedom and unreserve, to Mr. Stead, on various topics of the day, including Fiscal Reform and Home Rule. 'An Assembly,' he says, 'that is responsible for a fifth of the world has no time to discuss Dr. Tanner or the matter of Mr. O'Brien's breeches. The labour question is an important one, but deeper than the labour question is that of the market for the products of labour, and as your local productions can only support about six millions of people, the balance depends upon the trade of the world. Even a Labouchere, who possesses no sentiment, should know that the labour of England is dependent on the outside world; and the outside world, so far as I can see, will boycott the results of English labour. The American has been taught the lesson of Home Rule, and the success of leaving the management of the parish pump to the beadle. He does not burden his House of Commons with the responsibility of cleansing drains. If you had had statesmen, you would at the present moment be commercially at war with

the United States, and would have boycotted their raw products until they came to their senses. And I say this because I am a Free Trader.'

Before the House of Assembly rose, Rhodes had to deal with the long-threatened raid into Mashonaland by a section of the Transvaal Boers. For some time past a watchful eye had been kept on these freebooters, who were, for the most part, landless adventurers, such as have always existed on the fringe of the Republics. Their ambition, ignoring all treaties, was to found a new Republic where, to use their own words, 'a genuine Afrikander nationality could be developed.' Kruger did not openly favour the move, and he probably viewed with apprehension the departure of so many of his bolder burghers. Joubert, not being fettered by any such sense of responsibility, was, as usual, for action. For years he had preached the doctrine that the vast North was the heritage of the Boer alone. In 1890, when the proposed 'trek' was much talked of, a protest from the High Commissioner led to its postponement to a more convenient season. Now in 1891 the project revived, and was, curiously enough, coincident with another and more friendly 'trek' with which it must not be confounded—I mean the visit of a large group of Cape farmers who investigated the capabilities of the Territory in June, crossing from Tuli to Umtali, a distance of 500 miles, and out by way of Beira. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Expedition, in spite of the High Commissioner's renewed warning, completed its preparations, and the Republic of Banyai-land, as it was to be named, was announced as about to be proclaimed on 1st June. Writing to me from Pretoria, under date 25th May, a correspondent advised me that he thought the President was in earnest in

desiring to stop the Raid, but that Joubert's son-in-law was taking an active interest in it. Again, on the following day, acknowledging receipt of my information that Rhodes was coming up to Mashonaland *via* Beira, my correspondent expressed a doubt whether the Portuguese authorities would permit him to travel by that route. He added that the Transvaal Burghers were much annoyed with Hofmeyr and the Bond over their alliance with Rhodes, a procedure they described as 'worshipping the golden calf.'

Early in June 5000 Boers were reported to be waiting the word of command to move. But the word was never given. Sir Frederick Carrington, in command of Imperial troops, moved up to Mafeking, and Dr. Jameson, with the Company's Police, guarded every fordable drift on the Limpopo River. Under these circumstances, a despatch from Sir Henry Loch, read aloud in the Volksraad, had a sobering effect. The President produced a draft Proclamation, threatening the 'trekkers' with fine and imprisonment, and the issue of the document was sullenly authorised. The great majority of the raiders remained at home, and only a limited number ignored the law. On 10th June an air of comedy was sought to be associated with the movement by a Rustenburg Boer telegraphing to the High Commissioner that the 'trekkers' were passing through there 'in their thousands,' whereas, on inquiry, he admitted that he was only referring to a flight of locusts.

On 24th June, the irreconcilables, mustering with camp followers about 200 men, arrived at the main drift on the Limpopo. Colonel Ferreira and two other leaders crossed the river, but were arrested by the police under instructions from the High Commissioner. Dr.

Jameson, arriving on the scene shortly afterwards, released the prisoners and accompanied them to the Boer camp, which was by this time seething with excitement. There for some hours he argued with them on the folly of forcibly entering the country disowned by both Governments, whereas the Chartered Company was willing to allot land to *bona-fide* settlers who were prepared to accept its rule. His courage and tact prevailed, and when the Boers found in the morning that, under cover of the night, Major Goold-Adams, with reinforcements, had joined the Company's Police, they melted entirely away without firing a shot. Of course the extreme Republican press foamed at the mouth. 'They seem very rabid with Loch,' wrote his predecessor to me, 'and have even taken to praise me. *Tempora mutantur!* Mr. Rhodes appears to have acted with great judgment. I hope the "trek" and his various other troubles will not impair his health. Were he to break down, I know no man who could take his place.'

The *Times* also wrote that the failure of the 'trek' was due to the admirable precautions of the Company, and to the fact that President Kruger was wise enough to accept the inevitable. The President, however, was under no illusions. 'Rhodes,' he said, 'is putting a ring fence round me, and that is why I must fight him.' Long afterwards referring to the incident, Rhodes declared that Kruger was the arch raider in South Africa, and had been at the back of all such movements for a generation.

On 18th August 1891, the session came to a close, the Governor's speech reporting that a census had been taken, and a Liquor Law Amendment Act passed 'in the highest interests of the people,' but that the

Bank Act had been reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. Meanwhile a controversy had arisen in England over Hofmeyr's 'plural voting' proposals, which were held by uninstructed champions of the natives to indicate a resolve to suppress the coloured vote entirely. The *Times* published an interesting article on the franchise debate, hinting that Hofmeyr was aiming at a South African Union outside the Empire. 'The chief players,' it said, 'keep their heads. Rhodes has a nation at his back. Hofmeyr is the older, perhaps the cooler, certainly the more experienced of the two. He has been giving way ever since Rhodes returned from England. He now asks for his equivalent—more Dutch votes.'

Mr. F. Mackarness made, in reply, a strong defence of the alliance between Rhodes and Hofmeyr, asserting with justice that the latter's attitude at the Colonial Conference of 1887 vouched for his loyalty, and pointed out his very recent appointment by the High Commissioner to proceed on a special mission to Pretoria, as a proof of the estimation in which he was officially held. Mr. Mackarness added that Hofmeyr was not asking for more Dutch votes over English, but for more European votes over uncivilised natives. Only one further reference need be made here to the work of the session. Mr. Merriman's Budget, which he described as 'the short and simple annals of the poor!' threw a cold *douche* on the glowing estimates of his predecessor, Sprigg, and condemned with great force the latter's neglect of the policy of internal development in order to become a great 'carrying agent' to the Republics. Sprigg retaliated by attacking Rhodes in his vulnerable dual position, to which Merriman retorted that Sprigg, while in England, had spoken in quite a contrary

sense, and that the House well knew that it was only the exigency of party politics that led to the change of front.

Once free of his Parliament, and having transacted necessary business in Kimberley, Rhodes, on 14th September, left Cape Town for Port Elizabeth, in company with Mr. de Waal and Major Frank Johnson. He had resolved, at whatever inconvenience, to visit Mashonaland and see for himself what were its pastoral, agricultural and mineral prospects. At Port Elizabeth the party caught the *Drummond Castle*, a vessel only remembered now for the terrible fate that subsequently overtook it. On the evening of 17th September Rhodes reached Durban, the port at which, as a delicate and friendless lad, he had originally landed twenty-one years before. Time permitting, he visited Pietermaritzburg to pay his respects to the Governor, Sir Charles Mitchell, but returned to the coast the following day and embarked on the *Norseman*, taking with him a Colonial travelling cart and a number of horses. De Waal complains bitterly of the cockroaches which infested the ship, and of Rhodes's scorn at his complaints. 'You are a silly man,' said the Prime Minister, 'to be afraid of such harmless creatures. As for me, I treat them like flies.'

On 22nd September the travellers were at Delagoa Bay (Lourenco Marques) the insanitary condition of which, under Portuguese rule, is noted by De Waal with wrath and contempt. Sailing again the same evening, they next landed at another Portuguese port, Inhambane, where Rhodes engaged sixty stalwart natives to accompany him to Rhodesia as camp followers. The authorities raised technical objections to this recruiting and, as their protest was disregarded, two of

the officials clung to the ship and were carried on to Beira. Arriving there on 26th September, they procured an order from the local Commandant prohibiting the landing of the natives. Fortunately H.M.S. *Magicienne* was lying in the river, and the judicious diplomacy of her Commander, backed by the payment of extortionate fees, at length solved the problem, and the party were permitted to proceed up the Pungwe River in a flat-bottomed boat. Anchoring at night in midstream, the travellers found it difficult to sleep owing to the concert kept up by lions and hyaenas on both sides of the river, while by day the low islands and mud flats were seen to be swarming with crocodiles, and the river with lumbering hippopotami. After a while Rhodes abandoned the river route and took to the road, if road it could be called. Herds of buffalo and zebra were met, and the country was low-lying and unhealthy, until on 8th October they reached Macequece, the scene of the encounter with the Portuguese the preceding May. But the Commandant now in charge of the frontier town was a gentleman, and bore no malice, and assisted the little expedition to provision and refit. On 9th October they arrived at old Umtali, within view of 'Mtasa's mountain home. The coming of Rhodes is pleasantly described in the *Adventures of two Hospital Nurses in Mashonaland.*

'He was besieged,' they say, 'with petitions of all sorts. Malcontents and chronic grumblers went to his hut and came away cheerful and satisfied. Not that anything was altered in the condition of affairs: the man's personal magnetism wrought the change. His stay was not to exceed two days, so we did not expect to see him. Great was our astonishment when on the morning of the 10th of October one of

the officials rushed in breathless to say Mr. Rhodes was coming. Mr. Rhodes rode up alone. His appearance and Roman emperor type of head are too well known to need description. As soon as he was seated on a box in our hut, he asked for pen and ink, saying he would give us something for the hospital. How much would we have? "Would £100 do? Make it £150." If we had asked for £500 he would have given it. Everything about the man is big—faults, virtues, projects. We were especially charmed with the great man's simple manners.'

Jameson and other pioneers met Rhodes at Umtali, and taking advantage of the excellent road constructed by Selous, the party reached Fort Salisbury on or about 18th October, where Rhodes was received with great enthusiasm by the entire population. Their only recorded complaint is that the stock of consumable liquor had run perilously low, a position never very acceptable to a hard-working mining community in a new country. Rhodes had no difficulty in allaying their fears. He was already familiar with the generous thirst which pervaded Kimberley in its early days.

After a week's administrative and other work, he continued his journey, accompanied for a while by Lord Randolph Churchill, who was then in Mashonaland as correspondent to the *Daily Graphic*, and whose fretfulness is noted by De Waal, who was apparently ignorant that the cause was readily traceable to the chronic ill-health, destined, ere long, to carry the brilliant statesman to an early grave.

The party, after visiting many ancient gold workings at the Mazoe and elsewhere, and having had excellent sport along the Hunyani River, arrived at Fort Charter,

where, to the general joy, they were joined by Selous, who enlivened their evening camps with vivid narrations of sport and adventure in the territory through which they were passing. Fort Victoria was reached a few days later, from which point an excursion was made to the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe, as to the date of which science has not yet said its last word. On 3rd November the travellers were again on 'trek,' De Waal, a typical Dutchman in his ability to know good land when he saw it, waxing enthusiastic over the prospects of the country. 'I am fully persuaded,' he writes, 'that the day will come when we shall see large cities round about Zimbabwe, and when the produce of the country will surpass that of any other part of Africa. Now is the time to "trek" here. Mashonaland is still open to all, and I would be glad to see the descendants of the daring old Voortrekkers occupy this fine, healthy, fertile land. Let not our people hesitate, but set out at once to inhabit a region than which there are few, if any, more beautiful on the globe.'

The party subsequently went on to see the Chief, Chibe, whose alleged cession of rights to Adendorff and Vorster had led to the recent 'Banyailand' trek. His repudiation of their claim is amusingly told by De Waal: indeed poor Chibe, so far from being an independent chief, was raided shortly afterwards by his overlord, Lo Bengula, and massacred, he and all his —an atrocity which was one of the determining causes of the Company's action against the Matabele a year or two later. On 14th November, Rhodes arrived at Fort Tuli, and a few days afterwards, at the Base Camp, Macloutsie, thus accomplishing the task he had set his mind upon, of traversing a portion of his new dominions and returning in the track of his pioneers. From there

he visited Palapye to thank Khama for his eminent services, and making short rests at Mafeking and Vryburg, he reached Kimberley on 23rd November 1891, after a rough but deeply interesting journey of nearly 4000 miles by sea and land.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIRST RHODES MINISTRY: SESSIONS OF 1891-1892

His ill-health—His accident—His many anxieties—Impending shadows—Approach of war—Contrast between the Republics and the Colonies—Between Kruger and Rhodes—Opening of Cape Parliament—Death of King of Holland—Rhodes on Gladstone—Preferential tariffs—The Ballot Bill—The 'dual position'—Rhodes and Municipal taxation—A School of Mines—Close of Session—Makes his fifth Will—Stead on Rhodes—Rhodes on Tariff Reform—Gives £5000 to Liberal Party—Correspondence with Schnadhorst—Advocates Teaching University—Transvaal affairs—Opening of telegraph line to Salisbury—Visits England—Cape Parliament of 1892—Attacked by Sprigg—Merriman's Budget—Rhodes on Swaziland—Franchise Bill—Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—The Dutch language—Conservatives overthrown by Gladstone—Transvaal hostility to the Cape Colony—Prorogation of Parliament—Strong position of the Rhodes Ministry—Rhodes on tour—Accident—Kimberley Exhibition—Rhodes speaks at Kimberley—Sivewright knighted—Rhodes visits England—Addresses Chartered Shareholders—Transvaal Presidential Election—Rhodes on Uganda—African Transcontinental Telegraph Company—Rhodes hears of internal dissensions in his Ministry—Rhodes leaves England—Incident of British graves at Boomplaats.

I HAVE already glanced at the parliamentary proceedings at the Cape during the brief remainder of the session of 1890, in the course of which Rhodes assumed office. I have also briefly alluded to the session of 1891. A more detailed summary of the latter may now be found convenient.

Rhodes's first Ministry lasted from 17th July 1890 to 3rd May 1893, when it broke up from within. His position as Prime Minister remained, indeed, unchanged, but he never again enjoyed the support of such experienced and competent colleagues, and from henceforth some of his old friends, to their grief and

his, were to be seen in the ranks of the Opposition. His health, moreover, began to give way under his manifold activities and anxieties as to the peace of South Africa, and he probably never altogether recovered from the shock caused by a bad fall from his horse while riding with Mr. Merriman on 22nd December 1891. From about this date onward, to the actual outbreak of hostilities in 1899, the flickering shadow of impending war lay athwart the land he loved. At times the sombre cloud seemed to lift only again to descend with added gloom. There were not wanting men of goodwill on either side, both in the Dutch Republics and in the British Colonies; but the great majority, ranged in opposition camps, saw, some with a stern delight, others with profound concern, that there was no peaceful issue to the conflict of ideals which drew to a climax with all the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. The press, with honourable exceptions, inflamed the animosity of the contending parties. The clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church were as vehement politicians as are Irish priests, and their language seldom made for peace. The 'man in the street,' generally of alien descent, beat the drum and waved the flag, and was always ready to embark on war, by deputy, with a light heart and a cheerful irresponsibility. The sub-continent was thus full of loose combustibles. There was electricity in the air. No man knew where the blow would fall or when, but that a blow was coming every one instinctively felt. On one side stood the two Republics, soon to be on terms of strict alliance, practically controlled by one despotic ruler, and possessing the incalculable advantage of having many blood relations and friends in the coast Colonies. Their adherents in Natal were formidable, not so much from

their numbers as from their residence in good strategic positions along the Border. In the Cape Colony half the population and the whole of the Dutch press were on their side. Their supporters, moreover, were not unwarlike traders and speculators, but men come of a good fighting stock, whose fathers had proved their prowess on many a field of battle against British forces as well as against native foes. So far back as 1892 the Transvaal was well armed, and for another seven years she perfected her preparations without intermission. The artillery with which she armed herself, both before and after the Raid, could only have been required against an European enemy. Another support she thought she had was the probability of foreign intervention and assistance. The exact hopes held out to her in one or more of the Chancelleries of Europe are known to a very few, and are unlikely to be revealed in our time, unless some one behind the scenes should be tempted to indulge in a blazing indiscretion. But that she relied on such a contingency is unquestionable. Her whole policy was based on the supposition. In the event, she leaned on a reed which pierced her hand. But although possessing no written promise of support, she relied, and I venture to imagine was entitled to rely, on a verbal assurance that in any grave emergency she could count on the moral, and even on the material, friendship of a first-class power. The confidence of the Boer leaders in the ultimate success of a struggle with the Suzerain power is incapable of reasonable explanation on any other ground. But if, on the one side, stood a wary and resolute Dutch President, the pivot of the aspirations of his people, the type and flower of his stern and unyielding race, so, on the other side, stood a Colonial Prime Minister, an Englishman

incarnate, determined to hazard life and fortune rather than submit to the degradation of his flag. Insecure in the support of his own parliamentary majority or of the Dutch element in his own Colony, or of the nerve of the Transvaal Uitlanders in a crisis, his local position was visibly inferior to that of his great antagonist, but he had self-reliance, imagination and genius: he was confident in the loyalty of Natal and of his own Rhodesians, and he had the command of the sea; while behind him, afar off, but indubitably there, he felt he had his mother country and the hardy settlers in her oversea dominions. The contest was thus not wholly unequal. History, regarding, with judicial scrutiny, the bickerings and race feuds of the years now under review, will, I think, eventually pronounce that there were faults of temper and of policy on both sides, but that from the outset the struggle for supremacy could only be determined by the arbitrament of arms. We may be thankful that Englishmen, who have encountered the Boer in the fighting line and on the veld, are now enthusiastic admirers of his soldierly qualities, and freely admit that Kruger, with all his limitations, was a son of the soil of whom any country might be proud. Equally are there Dutch Afrikanders who no longer refuse their tribute of admiration to the memory of Rhodes. One of their foremost representatives, General Smuts, speaking at Johannesburg on 16th November 1907, declared that Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger were the two dominating personalities in South African history, the men who had laid the 'spoor' which would be followed for centuries.

On Tuesday, 26th May 1891, Sir Henry Loch opened the third session of the eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, and announced the completion of the

line of railway to Vryburg on its way to the far North: to Bloemfontein on its way to Pretoria, and to Simon's Town, the Imperial Naval Station. 'My Ministers,' he added, 'have visited Bloemfontein and entered on a fresh Convention for the extension of the line to the Vaal River.' Referring to native affairs, he went on to say that Umquikela was dead and that there was much unrest in Pondoland, but that the Cape and Natal had successfully preserved peace on their respective borders.

On 27th May, Rhodes moved and Hofmeyr seconded a motion to prepare and transmit an address of sympathy on the death of the King of Holland, a small but not insignificant act of courtesy which was appreciated by the Colonial Dutch.

On 4th June, during the course of a discussion on the wine industry, Rhodes again declared that it had been ruined by Gladstone for the benefit of foreign countries, and that, in his opinion, there should be closer commercial union between the mother country and her Colonies, based on a system of reciprocal preference. Hofmeyr concurred and gave some interesting details. 'Prior,' he said, 'to the revised tariff of 1860, Cape wine paid a duty of two shillings and tenpence per gallon, and foreign wine paid five shillings and sixpence per gallon. When this preference was abolished, our exports fell at once from 1,100,000 gallons to 500,000, and we must hope that this Free Trade craze will pass away, as concessions to the Colonies will tend to consolidate the Empire.' The craze, though visibly weaker, has not passed away, but, in the meanwhile, the Cape wine industry has been practically annihilated. Rhodes wound up the debate by saying that Lord Randolph Churchill had very

recently encouraged him to apply for preferential relations on the ground that among the working classes of great Britain there existed a strong desire to regain the trade of the Colonies.

On 5th June, in a division on the Ballot Bill, the House tied, 33 to 33, and the Speaker gave his casting vote for the measure, whereupon Hofmeyr moved to go into Committee that day three months. The Ministry were divided on the point, and the motion was carried by 35 to 32. The Bill therefore dropped.

On 17th June, Sprigg, in Committee of Supply, returned to the attack on the Premier's 'dual position.' Merriman, in defence, said, 'Every patriotic man in this House should wish the Chartered Company well and endeavour to help it in every possible way.' Upington supported Sprigg, while Sauer, in a caustic rejoinder, said he believed the Colony would benefit very much by the operations of the Company, and he pointed out to the House that Sprigg, at a meeting of his constituents, had blessed the Company altogether and, on the 19th January 1890, had sent a formal Minute to the Governor to the effect that Ministers were in entire accord with the Company's managing director, believing the enterprise on which he was engaged would be an incalculable benefit to the Colony and to South Africa. Hofmeyr followed, strongly supporting Rhodes. Thereon, a leading member of the Bond declared that, Rhodes's ideal being self-government, he should receive the help of all true Afrikanders. But the most interesting incident in the debate was the fact that John Laing, the original mover in the attack during the previous session, now rose and publicly recanted, expressing the opinion that the House and the country had every reason to be satisfied with the Premier and his work.

After a spirited closing speech from Rhodes, his opponents prudently feared to challenge a division, and the question dropped.

On 30th June, a private member moved for the abolition of the system of protection by means of preferential railway rates on Colonial products, but Rhodes avowed that he was, and always had been, in favour of affording the farmer moderate protection in regard to those food-stuffs which the Colony could produce. The motion was negatived without a division. On 2nd July, Rhodes moved that Government property within Municipal areas should, in future, be liable to taxation, from which it had been hitherto exempt. His main object, he said, was to augment the Municipal revenue of Cape Town, because that city was, and ought to remain, the capital of South Africa. His motion was agreed to by 40 to 18. On 13th July, on the proposed Railway Convention, he sharply rebuked Upington for missing his opportunity in 1886, when Kruger was willing to allow an extension of the line to Johannesburg and had been sore ever since at the rejection of his overtures. A couple of days later he spoke strongly in favour of the preferential use of Colonial coal and other products, thus carrying out the South African policy to which he had pledged himself. On the 20th July, in a discussion on the advisability of establishing a School of Mines in order to train the youth of the country in a knowledge of its greatest industry, he said that he did not want a lad to compete for a ' bit of paper ' (a diploma), but he would like to see the instruction so practical that a student could always leave the Institution with the offer of a mining appointment in his pocket. On 18th August, Parliament was prorogued with the usual formalities. The

Governor congratulated the House on the successful passage of the Bill for the Regulation of Banking, and on its caution in regard to the further prosecution of railways. With this parting shot at Sprigg, the session of 1891 terminated.

Earlier in the year, while Rhodes was in England, he is understood to have made a fifth Will, leaving the bulk of his estate in trust to Mr. W. T. Stead, who, at the time, seemed to him to be the most fitting person within the range of his acquaintance to carry out his ideas (*vide* 'Last Will and Testament of Cecil Rhodes,' *Review of Reviews* Office, 1902). Mr. Stead states that Rhodes, to elucidate his views, addressed him at considerable length from Kimberley on 19th August and 3rd September, shortly before leaving for Mashonaland. The former letter was probably written in the train on his way to Kimberley, and illustrates the rapidity with which his mind worked, for, as I have just shown, he only rose from Parliament the previous day. Both documents are quoted by Mr. Stead in detail and still make interesting reading.

It was on the 23rd February 1891, that Rhodes, who was then in England, contributed £5000 to the funds of the Liberal party. The donation passed through the hands of Mr. F. Schnadhorst who, having paid a visit to South Africa the previous year, had formed the acquaintance of the Cape Premier, and strongly impressed the latter with a sense of his exceptional organising ability. The following is a transcript of the letter accompanying the gift :—

'*Monday, February* 23, 1891.

'My dear Schnadhorst,—I enclose you a cheque for £5000 and I hope you will, with the extreme caution

that is necessary, help in guiding your party to consider politics other than those of England. I do not think your visit to Kimberley did you harm either physically or politically, and I am glad to send you the contribution I promised. The future of England must be Liberal, perhaps to fight Socialism. I make but two conditions: please honourably observe them: (1) that my contribution is secret (if, of course, you feel in honour bound to tell Mr. Gladstone you can do so, but no one else, and he must treat it as confidential); (2) If the exigencies of party necessitate a Home Rule Bill without representation at Westminster, your association must return my cheque.—Yours, C. J. RHODES.

'*P.S.*—I am horrified by Morley's speech on Egypt. If you think your party hopeless keep the money, but give it to some charity you approve of. It would be an awful thing to give my money to breaking up the Empire.'

It will be seen that the only vital condition annexed to the donation was that it should be returned if the party passed a Home Rule Bill which excluded the Irish members from Westminster. In a postscript, however, Rhodes expressed alarm at a recent speech by Mr. John Morley which appeared to foreshadow the evacuation of Egypt. Subsequently, his uneasiness deepened, owing to a report that Mr. Gladstone himself favoured the abhorred policy of scuttle, and he accordingly, while on his way back to South Africa, addressed a second letter to Mr. Schnadhorst to the following effect:—

'*On board the "Dunottar," April 25th*, 1892.

'MY DEAR SCHNADHORST,—I am sorry to have missed you, but glad to hear that you are so much better,

though it robs one of the chance of seeing you again in South Africa. I gather in England that your party is almost certain to come in, though there may be subsequent difficulty as to the shape of the Home Rule Bill. The matter that is troubling me is your policy as to Egypt. I was horrified when I returned from Mashonaland to read a speech of Mr. Gladstone's evidently foreshadowing a scuttle if he came in. I could hardly believe it to be true and sat down to write to you, but thought it better to wait and see you. I have now missed you, so must trust to writing. I do hope you will do your best to check him from the mad step which must bring ruin and misery on the whole of Egypt, whilst our retirement will undoubtedly bring it under the influence of one or other of the foreign powers, which of course by reciprocal treaties will eventually manage the exclusion of our trade. However, if your respected leader remains obdurate when he comes into power, and adopts this policy of scuttle, I shall certainly call upon you to devote my subscription to some public charity in terms of my letter to you, as I certainly, though a Liberal, did not subscribe to your party to assist in the one thing I hate above everything, namely, the policy of disintegrating and breaking up our Empire. As you are aware, the question of Egypt was the only condition I made, and it seems rather extraordinary to me that the first public speech your leader should make, which sketches generally his views upon the near approach of office, should declare a policy of abandonment. I asked you at the time I wrote to see him and tell him of my action, and I suppose you must have mentioned the Egyptian question which was really all I cared about. We are now one-third of the way with a telegraph through the Continent from the south,

only to hear of your policy of scuttle in the north.—
Yours, C. J. RHODES.'

Mr. Schnadhorst's reply is subjoined :—

'NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION,
42 PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.,
June 4th, 1892.

'MY DEAR RHODES,—I regret very much I did not see you when you were here, as your letter places me in a situation of extreme perplexity. Your donation was given with two conditions both of which will be observed, but in a postscript you referred to John Morley's speech on Egypt in the sense in which you have written about Mr. Gladstone's reference to the same subject. It is 18 months ago since I saw you, when you referred to the subject in conversation, and I told you then, as I think now, that J. M.'s speech was very unwise, and that it did not represent the policy of the party. The General Election has been coming near and is now close at hand. Your gift was intended to help in the Home Rule struggle. It could do so only by being used before the election; being satisfied that I could observe your conditions and that J. M.'s speech was simply the expression of an individual opinion, I felt at liberty to pledge your funds for various purposes in connection with the election. This was done to a large extent before Mr. G. spoke at Newcastle. I am bound to say that in my view his reference to Egypt was no more than a pious opinion. It did not alter my feeling that a Liberal Government would not attempt withdrawal. Sir W. Harcourt was annoyed at Mr. G.'s reference at the time, and since I heard from you I have seen Lord Rosebery, who will become Foreign Minister, and who, I am satisfied from what

he said to me, would not sanction such a policy. Mr. Gladstone, I expect, had been worked on by a few individuals, but in my opinion it would be simply madness for him to add to the enormous difficulties with which he will have to deal, by risking complications on such a subject. There is no danger, besides the next Foreign Secretary will be a strong man who will take his own course, very different from the pliant and supple Granville. Of course I may be wrong: time alone can show, but if I waited for that, the purpose for which I asked your help would go unaided. You will see what a fix you have put me in. I will not make any further promises until I hear from you.—With all good wishes, I am, Faithfully yours,

'F. SCHNADHORST.'

The incident is worth recording, because some years later, in 1901, a long-sustained controversy arose over an anonymous letter in the *Spectator*, which accused the Liberal party, and specifically Sir W. Harcourt and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, of having been 'bought' for £5000. The accusation was, of course, outrageous. Rhodes was admittedly alarmed at occasional indiscreet utterances of prominent politicians, which conveyed to his mind an impression that the little Englanders were endeavouring to limit the responsibilities of Empire, regardless of the national honour, but he warmly resented the charge that his money had been given with a view to 'square' the Liberal party. A great deal more was made of the incident than it deserved, and Rhodes believed, as all sensible people now believe, that both the great parties in the State can be equally trusted to uphold the integrity of all territory once brought under our control.

The Marquess of Salisbury was not slow to recognise the growing ascendancy of Rhodes. Speaking at Glasgow on receiving the freedom of that city in May 1891, he said, 'There is the British South Africa Company, which you will probably know better in the concrete form of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, a very considerable man, a man of very many remarkable powers, and remarkable resolution and will.'

During the year with which I have just dealt, Rhodes made a strenuous effort to establish a Teaching University at the Cape, offering a site and large endowment out of his own pocket; but his plans were thwarted by the opposition of the Dutch educational authorities at Stellenbosch and elsewhere, who preferred a Maynooth of their own to a truly National University. The position in the Transvaal also continued to cause him great and growing anxiety. His various overtures to Kruger were disregarded, and even the support of the Bond in the Cape Colony, which he still enjoyed, had no effect on the iron obstinacy of the President.

On the 17th February 1892, the telegraph line to Fort Salisbury was completed, and Rhodes and I had a long and interesting talk over the wires with Dr. Jameson, the Administrator, a talk which resulted in the establishment of the first bank in Rhodesia on 20th July.

In March Rhodes sailed for England in connection with Chartered finance, leaving the administration of the Cape Colony in the hands of Mr. Merriman. But he was back at his post when the fourth session of the eighth Parliament was opened by Governor Loch on the 3rd June 1892, a few days subsequent to the opening of the railway to the Transvaal border. In His Ex-

cellency's speech he announced the tranquillity of Native Affairs, referred to the rapid expansion of the Transvaal gold industry, and added that his Ministers had made a provisional agreement to advance £650,000 to the Netherlands South African Railway Company for railway extension, in order to secure for the Colony its fair share of Transvaal trade. The session had no sooner opened than Rhodes was called upon to defend himself against persistent attacks by Sir Gordon Sprigg. The first trial of strength occurred on 24th June, when the Opposition endeavoured to wreck the Franchise Bill, but were defeated by 52 to 16. On 28th June, Merriman introduced the Budget in a speech of singular ability, closing with the remark that the most hardened pessimist must admit that the past year had been one of undoubted prosperity and that the financial position of the Colony was sound and stable. On 30th June a typical instance occurred of the equity with which Rhodes generally met what he considered a reasonable Transvaal claim. He does not, as a rule. receive credit for having been considerate in that direction. Mr. van der Walt, a Dutch member, asked whether Swaziland was to be annexed to the Transvaal, and Rhodes, in reply, stated that certain paragraphs in the English press, accusing the Cape of hostility to the claims of the Republic, were malicious and mischievous. Such statements, he added, were opposed to the views of the Cape Cabinet as a whole, and contrary to the views of every individual member of his Ministry. On 5th July, Sprigg moved what was practically a vote of censure on Rhodes, for an alleged delay in the completion of the line of rail from Vryburg to Mafeking. There had been some delay necessitating an appeal to the De Beers Consolidated Mines for

financial assistance, but on 20th April 1892 a loan had been arranged. The attack in the Assembly drifted into the old grievance of the dual position of the Prime Minister, but the House, by an overwhelming majority, rejected the motion. On 11th July Rhodes moved the second reading of his Franchise and Ballot Bill and, after a debate extending over many days, carried the point by 45 to 20, Hofmeyr being a strenuous supporter of the measure. On going into Committee, a wrecking amendment was thrown out by 48 to 9, and various other amendments fared no better. The Bill was finally passed on 1st August by 47 to 13. An interesting amendment to grant Women's Suffrage was resisted by Merriman, who quoted a Dutch proverb, 'Women and brandy are excellent things, but you must handle them cautiously.' The House ungallantly negatived the proposition without a division, but I cannot find that any suffragette demonstrations ensued. The following quotation from a recent article in the *Times* correctly describes the Act and the prior Franchise Act of 1887 :—'Sir Gordon Sprigg in the year 1887 introduced a Bill "to make better provision for the registration of persons entitled to the electoral franchise under the Constitution Ordinance." The real object of the Bill was to strike at the abuse of the "joint occupation" clause in that Ordinance; and in his speech on the second reading Sir Gordon Sprigg showed how, as the consequence of that abuse, the native vote had increased to an alarming extent. The figures which he gave may be summarised as follows (*Cape Hansard* for 1887, p. 67) :—

District.	Number of Voters in 1882.		Number of Voters in 1886.	
	European.	Natives.	European.	Natives.
Aliwal North, . .	1280	260	1486	800
Port Beaufort, . .	1179	160	1832	400
Kingwilliamstown, .	1676	370	3301	1300
Queenstown, . .	2080	220	3769	1770
Victoria East, . .	628	90	1023	520
Wodehouse, . .	1424	50	2711	1325

'As finally passed, the Act of 1887 made it clear that "joint occupation," to be a qualification for the franchise, had to be actual occupation of "a house or other building" (not occupation of land without actual occupation of the building situated on the land). It was during the debate on the second reading of this Act of 1887 that Cecil Rhodes came to the front with a speech on the problem of the native franchise in general, which was hailed as "epoch-making" by the Cape papers of the day, and which shows how well he had realised the true nature and danger of that problem. For our present purpose only his concluding words need be quoted: "Lastly, as to what should be the policy of South Africa, he would say that it all rested upon this native question, and it would be useless to attempt to form a union of States in South Africa until this Colony was prepared to meet her neighbours in a settlement of this question. This settlement would mean the readiness to take up an Indian despotism in dealing with the barbarism of South Africa. He believed that the Government were now pursuing a right policy in this matter, and that this policy would meet with the approval of a growing number of the

European population in the Transvaal and this Colony." The Act of 1887 aimed only at remedying an abuse of the provisions of the Constitution Ordinance. It did not touch the basis of the property qualification for the franchise laid down by that Ordinance. And it was not till the year of 1892 that any further attempt was made to alter the conditions governing the exercise of the franchise in Cape Colony. That attempt was made by Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister. Following out the policy which he had enunciated in 1887, he raised the property qualification for the franchise from £25, as fixed by the Constitution Ordinance, to £75, left the salary qualification at £50 per annum, and, more important than either, required every person who claimed a vote to pass an educational test.'

On the 20th July, the ladies were again under discussion, on a motion by a private member in favour of legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. On the question that the Bill be read a second time, the Ministry were divided, Rhodes and Sivewright voting for the measure and their colleagues against. The division resulted in a tie, and the Speaker gave his casting vote for the second reading. The Bill eventually passed both Houses, but was reserved by the Governor for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. On the 2nd August, Hofmeyr moved that the House concur in the recommendation of the Education Commission, that in the elementary school examination, the proficiency of candidates in both languages should always be ascertained. Rhodes approved of the proposal, declaring that the recommendation of the Commission afforded him great pleasure, as, in view of the increased intercourse that would follow the expansion of the railway system, it behoved Parliament

to protect the two mother tongues of the Colony. After this frank recognition by the Premier of the existence of the Dutch 'taal,' the motion was agreed to without a division. On 19th August, there arrived news that the Conservatives had fallen and Gladstone was once more at the helm. The 'ins' and 'outs' had crossed over to Osborne the previous day, the one to kiss hands on appointment, the other to deliver up the seals of office. A few days later, on 24th August, came a rumour that the Transvaal had suddenly framed a new Customs Tariff, bearing with extreme harshness on many Cape industries. A general chorus of indignation arose alike from Dutch and English members. The tariff was declared to be almost prohibitive and to be contrary to agreement. A motion in the House to protest against the proposed measure was carried unopposed, Rhodes being the only man to keep his head, and urge members to say and do nothing to disturb the relations between the Republic and the Colony. It was by ill-advised and injudicious legislation that Kruger so frequently put the friendship of the Dutch in the Cape Colony to a severe test. Rhodes agreed to make immediate friendly representations to the Transvaal Government, but on 29th August he had to admit that they had not elicited the courtesy of a reply, and a Dutch member thereupon passionately declared that the Cape Dutch papers were treating the Transvaal too leniently in the matter. Rhodes, true to his conciliatory policy, still counselled forbearance, and promised the House that one of the Ministry would visit Pretoria if the subject were left in his hands, and this course was finally agreed to. This was the last important debate of a singularly quiet session, Parliament being prorogued the same day. The posi-

tion of the Ministry had never once been seriously endangered, and the prestige of Rhodes was almost at high-water mark. He had passed forty Acts of Parliament, mostly of a domestic nature, but it is perhaps significant that existing legislation dealing with the Colonial forces was revised and strengthened, and that a measure became law for restricting the importation of arms and ammunition.

Shortly after the prorogation, viz. on the 3rd September 1892, Rhodes and Sivewright started on a tour through the South-Western districts of the Colony, and were at Montague the following day. A few days later they were snowed up in the Swartberg Pass, and subsequently were thrown out of their cart and severely bruised, the accident resulting in their having to return to Cape Town.

The Kimberley Exhibition, which attracted visitors from all parts of South Africa, was opened by Governor Loch on the 12th September, in the presence of General Cameron, the officer commanding the forces; the veteran Sir Richard Southey; Mr. Innes, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Sauer, the Commissioner of Works; but, owing to his accident, Rhodes was not there. He subsequently arrived, however, and visited the Exhibition, access to which is said to have been temporarily denied to him owing to his inability to find a coin in his pocket with which to pay the charge for admission. A correspondent of the *Times*, who contributed to that paper from July to October 1892, remarked in one of his letters, 'To the Dutchman space is essential and space alone. Mr. Rhodes was heard to say in a London drawing-room last year that it was the reading of Zola's *Germinal* which had first caused him to realise the necessity of providing decent homes and harmless

pleasures for the Kimberley miner. These and the compounds have created conditions of life satisfactory to white and black.'

The opening sentence in the above quotation expresses in few words a profound truth. There is no intensive cultivation in South Africa. Kipling's 'Vast spaces washed with sun' have come to be essential to the Dutch, and their struggles for more elbow room than the exigencies and the safety of the Empire could allot to them were bound, in the long run, to result in war. But through war, and through that closer union which has followed war, the problem of orderly expansion on the part of the two races, under one flag, is in a fair way to be solved. The allusion of the *Times* correspondent to 'decent homes' is, of course, to the model village of Kenilworth, now so widely known, where the white employees of the De Beers Consolidated Mines are housed in excellent detached cottages, each with a garden plot, and where a working man sits literally under his own vine and fig-tree, and lives a life of self-respect almost unknown to the denizen of a crowded slum, for he possesses the inestimable advantage of fresh air, a church, a recreation ground, a club for himself, and an elementary school for his children.

On 26th September, Rhodes spoke at Kimberley to advocate the assimilation of the judicial procedure of Bechuanaland with that of the Cape Colony. His thoughts were always of union, and of the welding of links of union, however small. Two days earlier he had dined with his miners and declared that great wealth begot great obligations, and that he for his part acknowledged the validity of the doctrine of ransom, and proposed to put it in practice in his own case by developing the far North.

Sivewright, whose energy in railway matters was beyond praise, was knighted for his services about this date. He and Rhodes proceeded to England together in the *Norham Castle* on 5th October, the Governor being a passenger by the same steamer. Before leaving, Rhodes handed to me a formal Power of Attorney, authorising me to supervise the commercial and financial affairs of the Chartered Company of which he was managing director, the administrative responsibilities remaining, of course, with Dr. Jameson. He also handed me a letter of the following tenor :—

'CAPE TOWN, *5th October* 1892.

'MY DEAR GENERAL,—During my absence in England Mr. Michell has my power to represent the Charter, so I shall be glad if you will consider him its representative till further notice.—Yrs.,

'C. J. RHODES.

'To His Excellency General Cameron,
Acting Governor.'

On arrival in England, Rhodes gave the reporters the slip, much to their indignation. I find him calling at the Foreign Office on 27th October to pay his respects to Lord Rosebery, for whom he entertained a strong regard. He was invited to the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield on 3rd November and also, on the same day, to a banquet given to Lord Loch at the Hotel Metropole, but he abhorred these public functions of a carnivorous character, and was present at neither. On 29th November, however, he was in his element, addressing a great meeting of Chartered shareholders at the Cannon Street Hotel, the President of the Company, the Duke of Abercorn, presiding. His speech, a masterly one, is fully reported in 'Vindex.' Among the subjects

touched upon was that of the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company, one of his favourite projects. Thus, 'When the Charter was granted I formed the idea of an overland telegraph to Egypt, and the other day, when homeward bound, I saw with alarm that a section of our people were desirous of abandoning Uganda. I do not propose to fight the Mahdi, but to deal with him. I have never met any one in my life whom it was not as easy to deal with as to fight.' This is the origin of the famous phrase 'squaring the Mahdi'; but having succeeded in transacting business with the ferocious Matabele Chief, it was not perhaps wholly unreasonable for Rhodes to think that he could bargain with the despot of the Sudan. It may be that he failed to realise the religious fanaticism of the latter, a trait entirely absent from the character of Lo Bengula, but the idea underlying his remark was, in ordinary cases, a sound one.

The passage from which I have quoted was characteristic of Rhodes in another respect. He was exquisitely sensitive to any rumour of the abandonment of British territory anywhere, for he kept always before him the necessity of ample elbow room for the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race, in whose governing capacity he had implicit faith. The closing words of his speech were a summary of its general tenor. 'I never,' he said, 'lose an opportunity of pointing out to the people that in view of the fact that these islands can only support six out of their thirty-six millions, and in view also of the action of the world in trying to exclude our goods, we cannot afford to part with one inch of the world's surface which affords a free and open market to the manufactures of our countrymen.'

Before passing away from the year 1892 I must refer

briefly to the approaching Transvaal Presidential election. The candidates were Kruger, Piet Joubert and Mr. Justice Kotzé. A Transvaal correspondent wrote to me on 24th September that the better class Boer thought the time had arrived for a change of President and was in favour of electing General Joubert; that the back-veld burghers and also all Concession hunters were solid for Kruger; while the Uitlanders, who were for Kotzé, had no votes. He added that the Church question, then before the Courts, was causing much bad blood, and that the Dynamite Monopoly was the subject of bitter complaint. The Transvaal National Union, an Uitlander body, was formed about this time, and it was to a deputation of theirs that Kruger replied, on the 1st September, in the memorable words, 'Go back and tell your people I shall never give them anything, and now let the storm burst!' During October I received many letters from the Republic. One of my correspondents said: 'Sir Henry de Villiers is here. I met him at dinner last night; he animadverted strongly on the present state of affairs at Pretoria, and thinks there must be a thorough cleaning out.' As we know, no such cleansing of the Augean stable took place. Kruger, by 7881 votes against 7009 for Joubert, was re-elected, not without suspicion of the Ballot having been manipulated by his friends: affairs then went from bad to worse until the Ship of State finally drifted on the rocks. In November, Rhodes addressed the following letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

'*Most confidential.*

'My Lord,—Understanding that Her Majesty's Government is considering the question of the retention

of Uganda under her protection, I think it well to state for their information that I am prepared to extend at once the line of Telegraph from Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland, to Uganda, without asking Her Majesty's Government for any contribution. I would point out that it may be necessary to obtain the sanction of the German Government for the construction of that portion of the line which would pass through their East African territory. I would therefore ask, provided this right is not already secured by treaty, that Her Majesty's Government should take such steps as they may consider necessary to obtain it. It may be well to state that I seek no monopoly in the German territory, all I wish is to have the right of construction, and I beg, provided Her Majesty's Government concur in my proposal, that action should be taken without delay, as I am particularly desirous to order the necessary material before returning to the Cape, so as to commence the construction at once and complete with all possible despatch.

'The British South Africa Company constructed the line from Mafeking to Salisbury, about 1000 miles in length, in less than 18 months, and in my judgment, considering the facilities of water transit afforded by the Lake system, I could complete the line to Uganda in a similar time. The extension northwards from Salisbury will, according to the arrangements I have already made, pass *via* Blantyre, near to which Her Majesty's Commissioner, Mr. H. H. Johnston, resides, up Lake Nyasa, and from there to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Beyond Tanganyika I shall be prepared to extend the line to whatever point in Uganda Her Majesty's Government may desire. I may add that my ultimate object is to connect with the Tele-

graph system now existing in Egypt, which I believe extends as far as Wady Halfa, but I am fully aware that under existing circumstances at Khartoum such an undertaking cannot be at present carried out.'

It will be observed that he confines himself to strict business, and does not touch on the delicate question of the abandonment of Uganda. In the event, the territory is still ours, and promises to become a great and prosperous Colony. But although the letter I have quoted made no allusion to high politics, there is reason to believe that Rhodes made strong verbal representations to the party in power, as he did not feel altogether at ease as to Gladstone's intentions. He had been reading Russell's book, *The Ruin of the Sudan*, and was much struck by some letters therein from Mr. Francis William Fox, a keen advocate of railways and telegraphs as civilising factors, who pressed for the construction of a line, since built, from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza. The Anti-Slavery Society were also, for once, on the side of the Empire, and urged the retention of territory where, if anywhere, it was in our power to make a successful effort to heal what Livingstone had rightly called 'the open sore of the world.'

It is easy to see now that the desire of Rhodes to throw a wire across the Dark Continent was doomed to failure. He was too early, because the Imperial spirit stirred by Beaconsfield was still in half-slumbering mood. He was too late, because statesmen responsible for our destinies had permitted other nations to occupy territory along the line of route, and effectually bar the completion of an 'all red' line. But, so far as the telegraph wires have penetrated, they have been of essential service to mankind. Financially, the project

may not be a success. Some of the world's greatest achievements are not translatable into visible profit in pounds sterling. But a wire from Cape Town to Tête and far Ujiji, though only a fraction of the original scheme, is successful in accelerating communication between otherwise sundered communities, in checking the slave trade, promoting civilisation, and helping the pioneers of our race to push ever forward on their high and fruitful mission to replenish the earth and subdue it. The line, as it stands, is a living testimony to the genius and determination of Cecil Rhodes. It must, however, be frankly admitted that his references to the Transcontinental Telegraph line were ill received in the city. The fear of the Mahdi was wide-spread, the project was characterised in some quarters as of the 'wild-cat' order and as a will-o'-the-wisp. 'Magnificent,' said the Stock Exchange, 'but not business.' The shares of the Chartered Company fluttered and fell, and Rhodes alone held on his way, resolute and unafraid.

While in England, he received the unwelcome intelligence that there were internal dissensions in his Ministry of a menacing nature, his colleagues being unanimous in desiring the retirement of Sir James Sivewright. A considerable amount of communication by cable failed to result in an amicable settlement of the dispute. With a view to smooth matters over, he proposed, or the solution was proposed to him, that Sir Charles Mills, the Agent-General, should be placed on pension and his office filled by Merriman, who, in turn, could be succeeded, it was thought, by Sir Gordon Sprigg, on whose readiness to join any Ministry it was always considered safe to rely. But the crisis was not to be averted by such a measure as

this. Persons whose retirement is arranged for them frequently show a strange disinclination to recognise the expediency of the course proposed. It was so in this case. Sir Charles declined to retire, the scheme fell through, and towards the end of December Rhodes left England for the Cape, but by the leisurely Eastern route *via* Marseilles, Egypt, Delagoa Bay and the Transvaal. His choice of route was dictated by business reasons of a very important nature, as will appear later on. He arrived in Cape Town on the 8th March 1893, but Sivewright did not return until nearly the close of April.

At the risk of unduly prolonging this chapter, I must refer to one pleasing incident which passes like a ray of light across the gloomy atmosphere of the year. On 13th May 1892, Governor Loch wrote to President Reitz of the Free State, who had succeeded Sir John Brand, that it was reported to him that the graves of the British officers and soldiers who fell at Boomplaats in 1848 were in a state of serious disrepair, and he inquired whether the Government of the Republic would authorise him to do what was necessary in the matter. On 18th May Reitz replied promising prompt investigation, and adding, 'Should it be found that the graves require repair, I hope you will permit our Government to show its respect for the brave British soldiers who fell there, by having the necessary repairs effected at our own cost.'

The offer, so courteously made, was gratefully accepted; the graves were repaired and restored, and surrounded by a wall, and on 30th June, the Queen, with the graceful tact which never failed her, sent to the President an expression of her high appreciation of his action in the matter.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SECOND RHODES MINISTRY: SESSION OF 1893

The Sivewright quarrel—Abortive negotiations—Hofmeyr declines to take office—Chief Justice and Rhodes—Rhodes resigns—Forms new Ministry—Parliament opens—The dual position again—Innes on the Logan contract—Heated debates—Colonial wines—Rhodes on the tariff—West Coast Railway—Rhodes advocates a Minister for Agriculture—Rhodes on German South-west Africa—Foreshadows general election—Condemns Transvaal policy—Prorogation of Parliament—Rhodes at Kimberley.

I NOW arrive at a painful chapter in the career of Rhodes as Premier of the Cape Colony, in other words at the dissolution and reconstruction of his Ministry, which left him still at the head of affairs but shorn of his closest friends and most experienced colleagues. I record the circumstances. I do not seek to apportion the blame. The parties have all spoken for themselves.

The storm had long been threatening to burst. Sir James Sivewright was connected with more than one public company whose affairs were the subject of private gossip and press comment. So far back as the 21st May 1891, Sir James Rose-Innes, a man of the nicest sense of honour, had written to Rhodes that the Johannnesburg Waterworks Company, of which Sivewright was a director, was being made the subject of serious allegations, and he went on to suggest that Sivewright should be called upon to clear himself. The incident seems to have blown over, but other causes

for distrust arose, and on his arrival at the Cape Rhodes found himself in the thick of a Ministerial crisis, and was called upon to take sides in a dispute between those who had hitherto worked under him in, at all events, outward harmony. Such quarrels were very distasteful to him, but this one there was no avoiding except by sacrificing three colleagues or one. Most Prime Ministers, acting along the line of least resistance, would have sided with the majority, but this was not always his way. Merriman, Sauer, and Innes declined absolutely to sit in the same Cabinet as Sivewright, and Rhodes was reluctant to eject the latter on grounds which he apparently deemed inadequate. In this emergency he offered to retire in favour of Hofmeyr, but that astute statesman declined to assume the responsibilities of office. Rhodes then approached the Chief Justice, Sir Henry de Villiers, offering to serve under him without portfolio, on the ground that his frequent but unavoidable absences from the Colony rendered his relinquishment of office desirable. He added, however, that he would serve under no chiefs but De Villiers or Hofmeyr. Sir Henry, in the course of an hour's conversation on Tuesday 28th April 1893, intimated that the Premiership had no attractions for him, save to promote that policy of Federation which he believed he and Rhodes both had at heart. The two men met again that evening at Wynberg, and again the following morning. On this latter occasion Rhodes committed the mistake of producing a list of the members of a proposed Cabinet drawn up in Hofmeyr's handwriting. To this the Chief Justice, not unnaturally, demurred, stating that if he formed an Administration, he must choose the Ministers

himself. He added that he might not improbably offer an appointment to one or more of the dissentient three. To this Hofmeyr, and possibly Rhodes also, raised objections, and after some further fruitless negotiations, the project fell through, Rhodes writing, 'I found your conditions impossible to carry out, so must do my best to pull through.' There remained, of course, the alternative of submission to the demand of his three colleagues, but for reasons only imperfectly known, Rhodes, wisely or unwisely, was indisposed to do this, and on 3rd May he placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor, a resignation which involved that of all his colleagues. On the following day he entered on his second Ministry which, so far as he himself was concerned, was merely a prolongation of the first. All the Ministers whose differences had created the crisis were excluded, and the service of the country was the poorer for the exclusion. Sprigg, as had been anticipated, readily succeeded Merriman. He would have taken command of the Channel Fleet with equal alacrity. John Laing, another opponent, succeeded Sivewright. Sauer's office of Colonial Secretary was filled by Mr.—now Sir Pieter—Faure, who had previously been Secretary for Native Affairs. The latter duties were temporarily entrusted to a respected Colonist, Mr.—now Sir John—Frost, but in the ensuing session Rhodes carried an Act abolishing the office and requiring the Prime Minister to discharge its functions. It was thus he became associated with Native Affairs; hence his subsequent passage of the well-known Glen Grey Act. The Attorney-Generalship, held by Innes with general acceptance, was given to Mr. W. P. Schreiner, of whom we shall hear more at a later stage.

The text of his letter assenting to the offer of the office runs as follows :—

'CAPE TOWN, *Tuesday Evening*, 2/5/93.

'MY DEAR RHODES,—I was sorry to be away when you called. As soon as I came home I went round and saw Hofmeyr, who explained the object of your visit. I can work, if you wish me, in the association which you mentioned; and I told Hofmeyr so. I wish you would get a more experienced man than I at present am in the hurly-burly: but I believe that we shall work well together if the opportunity ranges me by your side, and I shall be proud to work with you. I only write in case I miss seeing you to-morrow morning. I must "fry fish" in Court at 10 o'clock.—Yours truly,

'W. P. SCHREINER.'

I must not deny myself the pleasure of recording here the following manly note from one of Rhodes's outgoing colleagues :—

'CAPE TOWN, *4th May* 1893.

'MY DEAR RHODES,—Only a word. The coming and going of Ministers must be: but our severance is to me a pain. I shall ever look back to my association with you as one of the honours and pleasures of my life.—Your sincere friend, J. W. SAUER.'

On the 16th June, Sir Henry Loch opened Parliament. His speech referred to negotiations as having taken place with the Transvaal regarding their imposition of onerous duties on Cape products, but no settlement was foreshadowed. His Excellency reported the opening to Pretoria of the railway constructed

with Cape money, and went on to say that a Bills of Exchange Act would be introduced. It was about time. Up till then the Cape, almost alone among British Colonies, possessed no legislation dealing with negotiable instruments. It should be remembered in commercial circles to the credit of Rhodes that both the Bank Act and Bills of Exchange Act were due to his initiative. At the first sitting of the House an irrepressible Irish member, O'Reilly, uninfluenced by Rhodes's support of Irish Home Rule, gave notice of motion, 'That in the interests of the country it is impolitic and undesirable that the official representative of the B.S.A. Company should be Prime Minister of the Colony.' The sober pages of Hansard drily record that the notice was received with laughter, laughter no doubt accentuated at the sight of Sprigg and Laing sitting alongside Rhodes on the Treasury benches. It may be added here that O'Reilly, too, in his turn, became an ardent admirer of Rhodes and defended him, later on, with wit and vigour truly Hibernian, against all comers. Without further delay Rhodes rose in a crowded house to make a brief explanation of the recent crisis.

'I have now,' he said, 'to state to the House what has occurred since our last meeting. Owing to differences which arose between some of the Ministers, it was found impossible to maintain that harmonious action that the conduct of public business demands. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I therefore handed in my resignation and that of my colleagues to the Governor. His Excellency was pleased to accept the same and to entrust me with the formation of another Ministry. We now present ourselves to the House with the object of continuing the government of the country, that

is, if we obtain the support of the House to those measures which we shall bring forward in the public interest.'

It is obvious that a Ministerial crisis of the severity of character I have just recorded could not, in any Parliament, be allowed to pass without further explanation than this. The facts were of public notoriety and the comments of the press had been of a diversified nature. The seceding Ministers, if the term may be fitly used, owed it to themselves, to their constituents, and to the country, to give clear expression to the motives which had compelled them, for conscience' sake, to break up an exceptionally strong Administration in the zenith of its power. They entrusted their defence to Innes, whose reputation for impartiality stood deservedly high. He now rose to state that the Ministry had not been rent asunder on any question of policy, but on considerations of principle and honour. Three of the Ministers, he said, found themselves unable any longer to give their confidence to a fourth, while the latter, nevertheless, still received the support of his chief. He recalled how Rhodes and Sivewright in the first week of October 1892 sailed for England, and how their colleagues, left behind to carry on the business of the country, discovered a few weeks later that Sivewright, in his capacity as Commissioner of Railways, had entered, before sailing, upon a new Railway Refreshment contract giving increased and undue advantages to a personal friend. Ministerial investigation elicited that on 13th September the contractor had applied for what was a virtual monopoly, and that Sivewright had assented to it. 'The Colonial Secretary,' added Innes, 'was away and so was Mr. Sauer. We decided to await their return, but I wrote

to Mr. Rhodes on 8th November that the contractor had been given a monopoly for twenty years, without the lease being submitted to the Attorney-General's Office. I requested him to show the letter to Sivewright, adding that it was a job and I disliked hanky-panky. On 18th November, after a Cabinet Council, we cabled to the Premier urging him to cancel the contract. The same day we received a joint cable reply that the contract was given on the advice of the railway authorities, but that they (Rhodes and Sivewright) would confirm whatever we did. So far, so good. We replied that the contract must be cancelled. Later on, we cabled to Sivewright direct that Hofmeyr and Graaff advised us that the contract was known and was causing grave dissatisfaction, weakening the Ministry and placing its friends in a false position. I added, "Retreat in time, show Rhodes." What was my surprise to find on the latter's return that he had never been shown the cable! The contract had been given to a personal friend, without tenders and without the knowledge of colleagues, and we repudiated it. The contractor took legal proceedings, claiming fulfilment of the contract or £50,000 damages. We pleaded that the contract was not in the public interest and advised Sivewright of the plea, whereupon he replied that he could not concur as he was convinced the contract was in the public interest. We rejoined that the plea was the only possible one under the circumstances, and we inquired if he wished the trial delayed until after his return. On 15th February, Sivewright protested against the repudiation of the contract, adding that he was sailing on the 11th March. On 16th February we cabled that we were unanimous, including Faure.'

Innes went on to describe other immaterial cables and futile negotiations for an amicable settlement, failing which on the 2nd May his resignation and that of his two colleagues were drawn up, but were not actually sent in, when, on the afternoon of the same day, Rhodes himself resigned rather than repudiate the Commissioner of Railways. 'It is not a light thing,' Innes added, 'to leave a Ministry, but, speaking for myself, there were considerations which rendered freedom from the trammels of the Treasury benches not altogether displeasing to me. We have been called mutinous Ministers. Mutinous against whom? Not mutinous against the Premier. (Cheers.) Mutinous against monopolies? If so, I am proud to be a mutineer. The country will now pass judgment: to that verdict we shall bow and we await it with confidence.' (Loud cheers.)

Sivewright, defending himself, admitted that Rhodes telegraphed to him in Scotland that he thought the contract should be cancelled, but he still maintained that it was a good bargain for the Colony and that, for his part, he left a stainless record behind him. Merriman and Sauer both spoke, but declared that they had little to add to what had been said by Innes, with every word in whose speech they fully concurred. The discussion then terminated, but on 20th June, Sivewright, in a speech of portentous length, moved for all papers connected with the contract. A debate ensued in which both Innes and Merriman spoke, after which the motion was agreed to. On the following day Sauer, by leave of the House, made a personal explanation, to deny what he understood had been stated in the previous debate, viz. that he and his friends had offered to resume office on conditions. Rhodes,

who had rather kept out of the fray, now rose and recapitulated the steps he had taken to heal the breach amongst his colleagues. Innes and Merriman replied defending the stand they had made for purity in the administration of public affairs, the latter exclaiming, 'Why did the Prime Minister, who is generally considered a man of extraordinary ability, sacrifice three colleagues who had done nothing (Hear, hear) who had the confidence of the country (Hear, hear), against whose Departments there was not a breath of complaint?' Sivewright replied and the matter again dropped.

On 22nd June, O'Reilly brought forward his motion against the dual position, and made sarcastic reference to the pliability of Sprigg in joining Rhodes. Schermbrucker, a subsequent speaker, declared that Rhodes had publicly asserted that every man could be squared. This brought Rhodes indignantly to his feet. 'I said,' he remarked, 'that it was easier to deal amicably with a man than to fight him. In other words, if one sat down and reasoned with a man it was almost always possible to arrive at a settlement. I am not ashamed of the phrase!' He then went on to defend his dual position and the opportunity it gave him of pushing the interests and even the boundaries of the Colony, and upon a division, he had an extraordinary triumph, O'Reilly being beaten by 56 to 2.

On 29th June, Krige, a Dutch member, moved for papers relating to the Imperial duties on Colonial wines. In reply Rhodes narrated the steps he had taken when in England to bring the question before Her Majesty's Government in order to obtain relief, and he read a letter he had written to Sir William Harcourt showing how the Cape wine trade had been

ruined by the Cobden Treaty. The difficulty, he went on to explain, was that Treaties existed with foreign Powers which prevented the mother country making any Tariff Concession to her Colonies. Several members of the Liberal Cabinet had assured him, however, that as soon as they saw British sentiment turn in the direction of such preference, they would take steps in accordance therewith. He, personally, believed that the Empire as a whole was tending in the direction of a freer interchange of goods and produce on a preferential basis as to the rest of the world. The papers called for were then laid on the table.

On the same day another private member asked if any line of railway was in contemplation, starting from Walfisch Bay. Rhodes replied that no proposals had been made to his Government regarding such a line, nor would he enter upon negotiations without submitting them to the House. He admitted, however, that, in his opinion, there was a distinct possibility of Walfisch Bay eventually competing for South African trade, but he had been careful in all dealings between the Chartered Company and Her Majesty's Government on railway construction, to stipulate that no competing line should enter the Protectorate without the Company's consent. This he had done to protect Cape trade, and he was willing to transfer this Concession to the Cape. Accordingly on 5th July a birthday present from Rhodes in the shape of a letter from the British South Africa Company was read to the House stating, that by agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the Company, no competing line of railway from the West Coast to any point in Bechuanaland or the Protectorate would be constructed without the sanction of the Company, the latter having an exclusive right

to build such line. Rhodes now gave the House his assurance that the Company's rights would not be exercised without the approval of the Cape Parliament.

On 7th July a warm discussion took place upon another of Sivewright's railway contracts, that dealing with the cartage of goods at Johannesburg. Unedifying charges were made and the production of papers called for. On the 10th July, Sivewright moved for a Select Committee to investigate the Refreshment Contract, which was agreed to, but his novel proposal to elect its members by ballot was opposed by Innes, who moved, as an alternative, that Rhodes should nominate the members, as the House had full confidence in the Premier's impartiality. It was a courteous and even a magnanimous offer, but Rhodes shrank from the delicate duty and moved that the matter be left to Mr. Speaker, which was agreed to. Later in the same day, Rhodes moved the second reading of a Bill to create a Minister of Agriculture, and spoke strongly for agriculture as the real permanent interest of a country rather than mining, the nature of which was precarious. 'There is,' he said, 'a bottom to every mine.' The debate was adjourned.

On the 25th July Merriman moved for papers connected with the proposed renewal of a Railway and Customs Convention with the Orange Free State. Rhodes, in reply, mentioned incidentally that on his way back from Europe *via* the East Coast route, he had visited the Republics and discussed the whole question with the President at Bloemfontein. He hoped the House would not tie the hands of Ministers. On this hint the motion was withdrawn. His speech gave great pleasure to President Reitz, as the subjoined letter will show.

'KANTOOR VAN DEN STAATSPRESIDENT,
BLOEMFONTEIN, 28*th July* 1893.

'MY DEAR MR. RHODES,—I have read your speech on Railways—report of which you kindly sent me—with much pleasure. What you say there is as true as gospel, and as clear as "twice one are two."—Yours truly, F. W. REITZ.'

On 28th July, Rhodes, after a powerful speech, carried the second reading of the 'Minister for Agriculture Bill.' On 7th August, in discussion on the estimates, an important question was raised. A private member complained that the Government of German South-West Africa was permitted to import arms and ammunition into the Territory through the Cape port of Walfisch Bay, while private traders were under prohibition even when British subjects. Rhodes, in reply, said, 'There is no unfairness in the matter. Any British subject desiring to land arms and ammunition for the purposes of legitimate trade, can apply to the Magistrate for a permit. The question has to be treated with delicacy because there is already a certain feeling aroused in Germany, owing to my recently stating that no line of Railway will be allowed to enter the Bechuanaland Protectorate from any port on the West Coast, but that the basis of the South African Railway system must be Cape Town. I hold that after our immense expenditure on Docks here it would be foolish for us to assist any rival port to develop our trade with the interior.'

On 14th August, the Select Committee on the Railway Refreshment Contract reported, condemning the Contract on four main grounds—its long duration, its non-submission to the Attorney-General, its completion without

public tender, its virtual monopoly. Its cancellation was declared to be justified. This was, of course, a triumph for the seceding Ministers.

On the 15th August the House was informed that there would be a general election about the middle of January 1894, and on the ensuing day De Waal renewed the old complaint regarding the unfriendly action of the Republics in imposing high duties on Colonial products. Rhodes made a conciliatory reply, praising the action of the Orange Free State, but admitting that, although he had done all in his power, by remonstrance, to influence the Transvaal to agree to closer commercial relations, he had failed. 'Our waggons,' he said, 'our fruit, wine, grain, butter, even our cattle, are being heavily taxed. We have been promised consideration, but the Volksraad has done nothing. The President is in favour of a system which refuses the franchise to seven-tenths of the population, and rejects commercial relations with a friendly and neighbouring State, which had come forward to help him in time of need. Read history and see if it be possible for this to continue. The Transvaal cannot isolate herself in this way. Meanwhile, we may be thankful that our route to the Zambesi and beyond is open and free, and that the far North will some day be a portion of the Cape Colony. We must then be patient and not lose our tempers. Our only course is to maintain a statesmanlike and dignified position.'

The motion for papers was hereupon withdrawn. A careful study of this utterance will detect a veiled threat behind its correct phraseology. It is to be regretted that the President did not read between the lines and become a member of the South African concert, instead of holding aloof in an attitude of

unfriendly isolation. But he did not read history, as his great rival assiduously did.

On 7th September, the House, without debate, approved of the Select Committee's Report on the Railway Refreshment Contract, and two days later Parliament was prorogued without the customary formality of a Governor's speech. Thirty-five Acts of Parliament had been added to the Statute Book. On the whole, Rhodes surmounted the difficulties of the session with greater ease than might have been expected. But there was no factious opposition. His three ex-colleagues were still under the spell of his personality and treated him with considerate courtesy. Later on, other and graver differences arose to widen the breach. But at present their attitude was one of friendly neutrality rather than acrimonious opposition. They had a grievance, many will say a legitimate grievance, for Ministers are but men, and men, especially when struggling for what they honestly believe to be the cause of purity in public life, cannot be unmoved when they see themselves deserted by a Chief to whom they were undeniably loyal. Their patriotic conduct merits, therefore, commendation from all who hold with Wellington that the Queen's Government must be carried on.

It is noticeable that Rhodes found time to be absent from his post for a few days during the session. On the 30th June, he was at Kimberley presiding at the annual meeting of the shareholders in his great Mining Company. His speech made no reference to politics, although the gathering discontent manifest in the Transvaal offered a pretext not easily thrust aside. But his self-denying Ordinance is readily accounted for. At the moment he was under an anxiety more pressing than any connected with Cape or Transvaal politics.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MATABELE WAR AND AFTER (1893)

Rhodes an optimist—Lo Bengula—Dawson's warning—Helm's warning—Captain Lendy—Dr. Jameson—J. Colenbrander—Border Police—Khama's levies—Umjaan and his impi—Fighting on the Bembezi—Allan Wilson's death—Flight of the King—Rhodes speaks at Bulawayo—Views of Selous—Lord Knutsford—Delagoa Bay negotiations—Sir Hercules Robinson on Home Rule.

It was not to be expected that a warlike tribe like the Matabele would acquiesce without a struggle in the loss of prestige inseparable from the lodgment in their midst of a small but powerful white population. Lo Bengula probably recognised the futility of an armed struggle with the subjects of the mysterious great white Queen across the water, but despots are frequently driven into dangerous courses by the irresistible pressure of their people. Rhodes, who six years later was wrongly of opinion that the Boers did not mean fighting, was here equally mistaken in holding that self-interest alone would restrain the Matabele ruler from aggression. On 29th November 1892, at a meeting of the British South Africa Company with which I have already dealt, he expressed himself as an optimist regarding the peaceful development of Rhodesia. 'I have not the least fear,' he said, 'of any trouble in the future from Lo Bengula.' His confidence was based on the latter's undisguised pleasure at receiving a monthly subsidy from the Company in hard cash. But he forgot that though the king received money, his warriors were not partners in the transaction. Avarice, therefore,

had no restraining power over them, and a savage despot can only effectually control his armed forces by allowing them an occasional taste of the blood to which they are accustomed. So it was in this case. Lo Bengula was a man of considerable mental ability, and he had no desire to fight the white men who were pouring gold into his coffers. But his impis were used to periodical raids involving massacre and plunder, and they objected to an enervating peace. They clamoured to be allowed to 'wash their spears,' and the king had to submit. Various minor raids and individual murders had already taken place. A pretext for killing off inoffensive Mashonas was now found in the alleged theft by them of royal cattle. On 29th June, Mr. James Dawson, the king's scribe, despatched the following letter:—

'BULAWAYO, *29th June* 1893.

'To the Magistrate or other Officer in Charge
at Victoria.

'SIR—An impi is at present leaving this neighbourhood for the purpose of punishing some of Lo Bengula's people who have lately raided some of his own cattle. The impi in its progress will probably come across some white men, who are asked to understand that it has nothing whatever to do with them. They are likewise asked not to oppose the impi in its progress. Also, if the people who have committed the offence have taken refuge among the white men, they are asked to give them up for punishment.—Written at Lo Bengula's request by J. W. DAWSON.'

Early in July the impi was in motion. On 14th

July Mr. Helm, a missionary at Morgenster, sent a letter to Captain Lendy to this effect :—

'MORGENSTER, *July* 14, 1893.

'Captain Lendy, Resident Magistrate, Victoria.

'DEAR SIR,—Alarming reports have reached us as to the attitude of the Matabele towards the white people in and about Victoria. We do not know whether there is any danger or not. Will you kindly send us some information by our messenger, and at the same time let us know what we should do? What we really wish to know is whether there is any immediate danger. —I remain, dear Sir, Obediently yours,

'S. P. HELM.'

The approach of danger was unfortunately beyond question. For some days an impi, under Umgandine, had been in the settled district of Victoria, and the alarm was general. Captain Lendy, the local magistrate, was away, but his *locum tenens* wired to Dr. Jameson for instructions, and received the following reply, 'You can give up nothing. On Lendy's arrival the induna can lay his complaint against him as a Magistrate.' On 12th July Jameson again wired, 'Leaving for Victoria to-morrow. Keep the induna till my arrival. Tell him I will give him a reply to the king's orders myself.'

To explain the tenor of these messages it is necessary to say that Colenbrander, another European agent of the king, sent, on the latter's behalf, the following telegram to Captain Lendy on 9th July, or at all events it reached its destination on that date. 'I wish to let you know that the men you met were sent by my orders to recapture some cattle stolen from me by the

Amaholi, and I also wish to warn you and the people in your vicinity that I am despatching within a day or so, a very much larger force to punish Bere and others for theft and various other reasons, but I do not wish to frighten you or your people and therefore send you warning that my impis will pass your way, but have orders not to molest any white men. Why should I send an impi against the white men? We have not quarrelled. I have given you now my reasons for punishing these Amaholi, and yet the people will say that I am killing human beings unnecessarily.'

Attached to this royal message, Colenbrander adds these words, 'While I was at Hope Fountain yesterday, the king sent for me in order to address a letter to you to be sent direct to Victoria by special messenger, but finding me away, went to Mr. Dawson, who has sent the messengers for me, and I trust these will reach you in good time for a warning.' This would appear to be a second letter from Dawson, unless the former letter and telegram were both delayed in transmission. Dr. Jameson, to whom the telegram was no doubt retransmitted, sent the annexed reply without the loss of a day.

'Thank the king for his friendly message, and tell him that, of course, I have nothing to do with his punishing his own Maholis. But I must insist that his impis be not allowed to cross the border agreed upon by us. He not being there, they are not under control, and Captain Lendy tells me that some of them have actually been in the streets of Victoria, burning kraals within a few miles, and killing some Mashonas who are servants of the white men: also that they have captured some cattle of the Government and of other white men. I am now instructing Captain Lendy to see the head

induna and tell him those cattle must all be returned at once. His impi must retire beyond our agreed border, otherwise he is to take his police and at once expel them, however many they are. The king will see the necessity of this, otherwise it is possible the white men getting irritated, his expedition may never return to Bulawayo at all.'

At the same time Jameson wired to Captain Lendy, 'Have you heard the king's message to me? You will see he is very anxious and, in fact, frightened of any trouble with the whites. But you have done absolutely right in taking all precautions. What you should do now is this: See the head induna as soon as possible. Tell him of the king's message and my reply, and, if necessary, that you would act up to it with police, volunteers and your machine guns. At the same time remember the excessive importance of not hinting at this, if avoidable. From a financial point of view, it would throw the country back till God knows when. In short, you have authority to use extreme measures if necessary, but I trust to your tact to get rid of the Matabele without any actual collision.'

This desire to avoid a struggle unless it were absolutely unavoidable was due, in great part, to the fact that the finances of the Chartered Company rendered the strictest economy necessary. Jameson had recently succeeded, beyond his expectation, in reducing expenditure, and was reluctant to face a heavy supplementary budget. On arrival at Victoria, he wired to Rhodes at Cape Town explaining the situation, and adding that if a blow were once struck, it might become necessary to assume the offensive and march on Bulawayo. Rhodes, then sitting in the House, replied laconically, 'Read Luke xiv. 31.' On receipt of this

message, Jameson called for a Bible and replied, 'All right.' His decision was soon translated into action. On 18th July, the impi entered the outskirts of the little town. Dr. Jameson, who had arrived, interviewed the head induna, who thereupon agreed to retire, but the younger bloods got out of hand and would have continued their murderous career had not Lendy, with a small force of thirty-four men, attacked and scattered them in all directions. The whole impi then retired on Bulawayo, and a demand was made on the king for 1000 head of cattle, as a fine for damages and expenses incurred. This he agreed to pay, provided the Mashonas in and around Victoria—men, women and children—were handed over to him for execution. To this inadmissible ultimatum no direct reply was given, but the High Commissioner exchanged messages with Lo Bengula without result, until it became clear that war was inevitable. Lo Bengula recalled an impi 5000 strong, which had been raiding in Barotseland beyond the Zambesi, and made other arrangements for an immediate campaign.

On the other hand the Company, duly authorised by the High Commissioner, raised volunteers, strengthened the police, and prepared to strike a blow for civilisation. To effect a demonstration on the other flank of the Matabele, Sir Henry Loch sent up 220 men of the Bechuanaland Border Police to the western border, where they were joined by a contingent of 1880 men offered by Khama. The native levies soon ran away. Rhodes sold 50,000 of his own shares in the Chartered Company to provide funds, and on 18th September, a few days after Parliament rose, he proceeded coastwise in the *German* to Beira, and thence to Salisbury, where he joined the little column then

starting for the front. While between Beira and Salisbury, he was of course out of touch with the High Commissioner, who became very impatient to speak to him over the wire. Hourly inquiries were made by Cape Town of Salisbury as to whether Rhodes had arrived, until at length the telegraph operator, with a picturesque touch all his own, wired, 'I see Mr. Rhodes approaching over the brow of the hill.'

The various forces of the Company, all told, amounted only to between 800 and 900 men, but among the officers were Sir John Willoughby, Major Forbes, Major Allan Wilson, Captain White, Captain Lendy, and an experienced Dutch fighter, Commandant Raaf. It was only on the 5th October that the High Commissioner gave the Company permission to advance, and then only because the Imperial Police had been fired on that day by Matabele on the Shashi River. Dr. Jameson and his two columns at once advanced. He himself, with the northern column, had already reached Fort Charter which he left on 9th October, accompanied by Sir John Willoughby, Major Forbes, Captain the Hon. Alan Finch, Captains Heany, Borrow, Spreckley, Moberley, with Lieutenant Carden as A.D.C., and several other gallant men who have since left an indelible mark on Rhodesia. With the scouts, under Gwynneth and Ivor Williams, were the Hon. Maurice Gifford, Burnham and other well-known pioneers. Dr. Jameson's total white force did not exceed 220 men. The Victoria column, 414 strong, was under Allan Wilson, with whom were Captain Kennelly, Captain Bastard, Captain Lendy, R.A., and others.

The columns came into touch with each other on 16th October, and on 25th October a severe engagement took place on the Shangani River, where the column

was attacked and entirely surrounded by 5000 Matabele from the Insukameni and other famous regiments, under Umjaan. In spite of a panic flight on the part of our native levies, the column with its machine guns repulsed three furious charges and finally routed the Matabele with great slaughter, and Unondo, the commander of the leading regiment, hanged himself on the nearest tree rather than face Lo Bengula after a defeat.

On the 1st November, near the head waters of the Bembezi River, another severe action was fought against even larger numbers than before. The splendid courage of the enemy was unavailing. They lost 1000 men, the Imbeza and Ingubo regiments being practically annihilated. The war was virtually over. Lo Bengula fled, after giving orders to make a Moscow of Bulawayo, his great Kraal and his European house there; and this was done. On the 2nd November the advancing column heard loud explosions in the direction of the Kraal. The following day they entered and occupied Bulawayo, Dr. Jameson at once despatching a flying column, under Forbes and Allan Wilson, in pursuit of the king. The latter now sued for peace and sent in a large sum in gold, by the hands of two troopers, as an earnest of good faith. To their eternal shame, these men embezzled the money and made no report as to its being in their possession. They were afterwards convicted of the crime and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, but their action had meanwhile resulted in the death of Allan Wilson and all his men, who were destroyed by the Matabele impi engaged in acting as rearguard to the flying king. Forbes, also, was hard pressed, being only rescued by the arrival of a relief column among whom was Rhodes himself.

Lo Bengula was never again heard of, and with him expired the capable, but ferocious and short-lived, Matabele dynasty. The campaign cost the Company about £100,000 and had a very tranquilising effect upon the Territory. The fear of the trained regiments of the king was removed. Prospectors, who had walked in the valley of the shadow of death, now went about their business with fresh hope and in perfect security: trade revived, and white settlers poured in from all parts of South Africa.

On 19th December, Rhodes made an excellent speech at Bulawayo to the disbanded forces, in which he recapitulated the causes of the war and drew a picture of its incidents and effects. With some heat, he resented certain captious criticisms which were being made in England, principally by Mr. Labouchere, on the heroic action of the settlers in defending their lives and property against a formidable foe. 'You would have thought,' he said, 'that Englishmen would have been satisfied. On the contrary, you are called freebooters, marauders and murderers, and so on. But this has not been said by our people as a whole, but only by a section. I am as loyal an Englishman as any one, but I cannot help saying that such conduct as this alienates colonists from the mother country. We asked them for nothing, neither for men nor money, but still we are vilified. There are no more loyal people than our colonists in Africa, but persistent misrepresentation will alienate the best of us. You were the first to conquer this Territory and, though our settlement with the natives must be a fair one, it cannot be left entirely to the negrophilists of Exeter Hall. All arrangements regarding the settlement are subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and that is

the principal reason why I am hurrying back to Cape Town to confer with him.'

That the criticisms to which Rhodes alluded were founded on imperfect knowledge, few will now deny. Mr. Selous, a singularly humane man, who served with distinction during the war, arrived back in England on 4th February 1894, and at a press interview, while on his way home, he delivered his views as follows. The reporter says :—

'He considers that the war is over, and that no further rising of the Matabele is to be feared. He thinks that the want of cohesion among the Matabele had a great deal to do with the rapid success of the Chartered forces. "You will understand," he continued, "that the greater portion of the so-called Matabele are what is called Maholies, low-class Kafirs, many of whom have since the last few years been to work on the gold-fields. For them the unbridled despotism of the Matabele made life not worth living. Under the cruel rule of rapine and murder of the latter they were not safe for a moment as to life and property. No sooner were a few cattle accumulated than the owner was killed by order of the king. These men, who made the majority of the so-called Matabele power, prefer the just government of the white men to the rule which has been over them till now. They have seen Khama's people living in peace, and wish to do the same."'

Mr. Selous was asked if he had quite recovered from the bullet wound received at the Fort Adams attack on the rear columns of Raaf's forces. The great hunter smiled, and, opening his flannel shirt, showed two nasty spots, healing rapidly, just below the third rib on the right side, where the bullet had hit the bone,

glanced along under the skin, and finally performed a happy despatch to the outer regions again. 'A narrow squeak,' he said, 'but I am quite well again, thanks.'

'The Matabele power,' continued the visitor, 'has fallen to pieces. The Maxims, of course, were an immense assistance, though their effect is perhaps somewhat exaggerated. I believe that great work will be done in the country, which is equal to Mashonaland in every way in agricultural and mineral resources.'

'How about Lo Bengula?' quoth the interviewer.

'I fancy the king will rally the remnants of the warlike forces around him, and after a few months across the Zambesi, try to form another State north of the great river, as Mosilikatze did before him, when he left the Transvaal.'

'How about the cutting off of Major Wilson and his men?'

Mr. Selous was silent for a few moments, and then said, 'Well, you know, it is very easy to criticise these things from afar. I do not care to express my opinion; only I know this—that nothing was done except by joint consultation between Major Forbes and Commandant Raaf, on account of the latter's great experience in native warfare. There is a tendency to blame Major Forbes, but I can assure you that everything was carefully and jointly consulted according to orders from headquarters, and nothing was left undone that had to be done. Without entering into any arguments about Mr. Oliver Davis, I can only tell you that the shooting of those Matabele at Victoria in July last, who were only four miles from the township, was amply justified. Every one of these Matabele was a murderer. If not in the streets themselves, still these very men had atrociously assegaied numbers of innocent Mashonas

within sight of even the white women living at Fort Victoria. Would you hold argument with men whom you see commit flagrant murder in open daylight? I consider the action of Captain Lendy was fully justified.'

The Company was not without its influential supporters. In June 1894, Lord Knutsford, an ex-Secretary of State, speaking at a public dinner, said, 'I cannot regret that during my term of office the Charter was granted to the British South Africa Company by Her Majesty. (Loud cheers.) The Company have loyally performed the covenants they entered into, and I think they may treat with contempt the denunciations of Mr. Labouchere (Loud cheers), denunciations which he is very ready to make without any foundation. (Renewed cheers.)'

The attacks of Mr. Labouchere and others, while discredited in all well-informed quarters and deeply resented in Rhodesia itself, had the effect of lowering Chartered Company shares to under par. But they soon recovered. The personal bitterness of the criticism defeated its own object. Sir Hercules Robinson, then in London, wrote a sensible letter to the *Times* on 7th November, which met with general approval, except from the 'Labbyites,' as he called them, who —to use his own words to me—were 'as impracticable as ever with their cry of "Take care of the poor natives, but don't spend anything!" They would like to play the part of the good Samaritan without the oil and two pence.'

Later, on 17th November, Sir Hercules wrote to me, 'The Matabele debate last week was a victory all along the line for the Chartered Company. Labouchere's indiscreet remark that the advent of the Liberals to

power was always followed by a massacre in Africa, made the G.O.M. furious, and probably led to his taking a stronger line on the Chartered side than he otherwise would.'

The efforts of Rhodes to round off the British possessions in South Africa and defeat Republican aspirations for an East Coast port, by obtaining Delagoa Bay for England, continued over a period of several years, but as his principal negotiations were in or about 1893, they may be referred to here. So far back as 22nd January 1892, Merriman, then in London, wrote to Rhodes that, as requested, he had interviewed a well-known international financier, who said that the Cape ought to purchase all the South-Eastern African possessions of Portugal, that it would solve the South African problem, and that the transaction was not beyond the limits of probability, as Portugal was in sore straits for money. On 5th February, Merriman cabled to Rhodes, 'Am in constant communication with ——. I fully share your views as to importance.' During the whole of 1893 Rhodes was in close correspondence with the Cape Agent-General, and with a representative he had despatched to Lisbon. He also addressed Her Majesty's Government on the subject, but received for reply, on 23rd May, a somewhat frigid note to the effect that, as a Government, they could do nothing to help him, although he was warmly supported by the High Commissioner. A gleam of hope is visible on 26th August 1893, when a highly placed official informed him that it might be possible to take action upon publication of the Berne Award. It was accordingly arranged to offer £700,000 for the Territory, but on 15th September Baron —— cabled that another competitor was in the field offering one

million sterling, and requesting discretion to bid up to £1,300,000.

In March 1894, Rhodes prepared an elaborate minute on the subject, from which I make the following extract, 'I have for several years done my best to obtain for the Colony by purchase or otherwise, the Portuguese Province of Lourenço Marquez. With that view —— went to Lisbon in 1891 and endeavoured to effect purchase on my behalf. He found the national sentiment opposed to parting with any territory. Lord —— intervened and kept me advised of the position. It was arranged that should favourable occasion arise, he was to act. When in England with Sivewright at the end of 1892, Baron —— was introduced to me by the Colonial Office as a man of much influence in Lisbon. He thought the time ripe, but was only to receive a commission if the deal went through. I then left for Egypt, and while there I heard the moment had arrived, and I cabled to —— to take the matter up. At Zanzibar I also received cables. For several months *pourparlers* proceeded. Sivewright returned to the Colony in April 1893: there was a change of Ministry in Portugal, and things took an unfavourable turn. At one time success seemed assured, but America intervened on behalf of MacMurdo's relatives. Sivewright paid £3000 for the option over their interests, but the option expired before anything could be done and the money was lost. I could not ask Parliament to pay, so I paid it myself. The whole circumstance was known to Her Majesty's Government. They are aware that the Cape Government is prepared to purchase the province. The Treasurer (Merriman) concurred and was a help to me while in England.'

On 26th April 1894, Rhodes, being at Butterworth

in the Transkei, the High Commissioner wired to him that he had received a cable communication from the Secretary of State. '—— says, Tell Rhodes —— declares that Portugal will not sell, but might lease Bay for 100 years. Cape Government should state minimum concessions they would require in lease and maximum sum they would pay. —— thinks they must offer amount of Berne award, estimated at £1,250,000, besides £400,000 for the lease itself.'

On 4th May Rhodes received a direct cable from Lord —— to confirm the statement that Portugal would do nothing until after the Berne award. He added that all investigations showed that Portugal was financially ruined. During June and July negotiations continued, but obstacles arose and the project was eventually abandoned. The references to the Berne award relate, of course, to the Arbitration over the forcible seizure by Portugal of the railway line constructed by MacMurdo, an American subject. It is probable that had the Bay and its surrounding territory been sold or even leased to us by our ancient ally in 1893, there would have been no Raid and no war. If so, uncounted millions would have been saved to the British taxpayer. But Chancellors of the Exchequer, who live from hand to mouth, cannot be expected to take long views, and though the Cape Colony would have eventually paid the money, the temporary intervention of Her Majesty's Government would no doubt have been required. British statesmen carry heavy and increasing responsibilities, and may be pardoned for exercising a certain scepticism in regard to proposals involving exceptional expenditure. Disraeli is perhaps the only Prime Minister of the last generation who had sufficient imagination and insight heartily to support

the transaction which Rhodes had at heart, and to overcome the reluctance of a bankrupt State to part with any fraction of its oversea possessions.

I have referred more than once to correspondence I received from Sir Hercules Robinson from time to time, and I may perhaps conclude this chapter with a reference to his views on the Home Rule Bill then before the House of Commons. Like Rhodes, he held tenaciously to the view that under certain restrictions and with certain safeguards, Home Rule would tend to federate rather than disintegrate the Empire. But he shall speak for himself.

On 17th February 1893, he wrote as follows:—'Nothing is talked of here but the Home Rule Bill, which I think is not a bad bill. It is the Cape and Victorian system *plus* representation at Westminster. It will pass the first reading to-day, and I expect the second reading will be carried by a majority of 40. I like the proposal chiefly from a Federal point of view, as it could be extended to England, Scotland and Wales, and to the self-governing Colonies whenever they may be prepared to bear their fair share of the common burdens of British citizenship.'

CHAPTER XXVIII

A BUSY YEAR (1894)

Matabeleland Order in Council—Resignation of Attorney-General—Rhodes speaks in Cape Town—Excitement in English press—Cape General Election—Rhodes wins—Speaks at Kimberley—At Barkly West—At Klipdam—Affairs of Pondoland—Historic Survey—Rhodes visits and annexes all Pondoland—Parliament opens—Theron Chairman of Committee—Rhodes on preferential duties—The 'Rhodes clause'—High Commissioner arrives from England—Visits Pretoria—The flag incident—Loch warns Kruger—Debates in the Cape Parliament—Uitlander grievances—Transvaal Green Book—Growing unrest—Van der Walt—Colonial Conference at Ottawa—German troubles in South-west Africa—Scab Act—Glen Grey Bill—Parliament prorogued—Visitors to Groote Schuur—Schreiner returns to office—Rhodes goes North—John Hays Hammond—Rhodes visits England—Agreement as to British Central Africa—Rhodes a London 'Lion'—Avoids public speaking.

We have seen that at the close of 1893 Rhodes had to hurry back to Cape Town to confer with the High Commissioner touching his future administration of Matabeleland, as well as to settle those many details inseparable from a general election. Hitherto, the pioneers in Rhodesia had, perforce, to be content to occupy and develop Mashonaland itself, leaving Matabeleland severely alone. But the king's flight rendered it necessary to provide for the government of his Territory, which was lapsing into a condition of anarchy.

As the result of the negotiations between Rhodes and Sir Henry Loch, Her Majesty's Government, on 18th July 1894, issued the Matabeleland Order in Council, which was at once acted on, though not promulgated in the Cape *Gazette* until the 10th September. The Order

handed over the work of government to the Chartered Company, reserving the ultimate control to the High Commissioner. The Company, as I have shown, were already in possession of the land and mineral rights by virtue of Concessions ratified by the Secretary of State, and they now obtained the complementary administrative rights. The limits of the Company's jurisdiction were defined as comprising that portion of South Africa which was bounded by the Portuguese East Coast possessions: by the South African Republic to a point opposite the mouth of the River Shashi: by the River Shashi itself, and the territories of Khama of the Bamangwato, up to the Zambesi: and, finally, by that river as far as the Portuguese boundary on the West Coast, including an area of ten miles round Fort Tuli, but excluding the district of Tati already dealt with in the original Charter.

Unfortunately, Great Britain, by the Treaty with Germany, commonly called the Heligoland Agreement (1st July 1890) had 'spoilt' the natural boundary of Rhodesia, which was the Linyanti River, by granting Germany access to the Zambesi by a twenty-mile strip of territory which cuts like a wedge into the extreme north-west border of Matabeleland. A glance at the map, however, will show how large was the accession of territory accruing to the Company and to the Empire as its reversionary heir. As he surveyed the two fertile provinces now under his control, Rhodes might well have exclaimed, 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius.' But political and other anxieties claimed all his leisure. On his arrival in Cape Town, he was confronted with the resignation of Mr. W. P. Schreiner, his Attorney-General, whose place, after some little delay, was taken by Mr. H. H. Juta. Mr. Schreiner

declared that the thought of resignation had long been on his mind, and that he would not stand again for Kimberley, though he might stand as a colleague of Rhodes's at Barkly West.

On the 6th January 1894, Rhodes was entertained at a banquet by the citizens of Cape Town, on which occasion he made a memorable speech. Representatives of all political parties were present as a protest against the malicious criticisms of Labouchere and other irreconcilable enemies of Rhodesia in England, and as a practical expression of sympathy on the part of the Colony with the gallantry of the Rhodesian force against heavy odds. 'When I look around at this assemblage,' said Rhodes, 'and see gentlemen here who, as regards the politics of the Colony feel it their duty to be in opposition to myself and yet are so broad-minded as to express, by their presence, that they consider I have deserved well of the community, it makes it, Mr. Mayor, very difficult for me adequately to express my feelings.'

He went on to tell them some amusing anecdotes as to his gradual extension of British territory, and the anxiety expressed by the late High Commissioner regarding when and where he proposed to halt. And he reminded his audience of what scanty support he had received when he first mooted the subject of keeping open the trade route to the North.

'You must remember,' he said, 'that in those days every one was against me: you must remember that when I pointed out to the House that our hinterland must be preserved, I could not get a vote, not a single vote, and I had to persevere in the face of the greatest difficulties. But if you have an idea, a good one, and stick to it, you will generally come out all right. I

made the seizure of the interior a paramount object of my politics, everything else was subordinated to that. I knew that Africa was the last uncivilised portion of the Empire, and that it must be civilised. I often try to imagine what my colleagues must have thought of me as I was sitting in the House brooding because of a telegram that the Mashonas were being murdered within our own district of Victoria, that the settlers would not stand it, and would "trek" unless I faced the position. Well, sir, in those long hours we spent in the House, I made up my mind that at the conclusion of the session I would go up to Mashonaland, knowing full well what was before me. When I arrived at Salisbury I found that hostilities were in progress, and that out of 1500 people, 650 had already gone to the front. These men went to face a power equal to that of the Zulus and with the idea that they might never return. But they went, and they won, and they occupied Bulawayo. Remember, please, not only the two great fights in which they were victorious, but the daily and nightly apprehension that the Matabele might be on them at any moment, the fifty occasions when the waggons were laagered and the Maxims got ready. And thus a few hundreds of our people conquered a savage power which otherwise, to subdue, would have cost Her Majesty's Government millions of money. And yet the Aborigines Protection Society communicated with Lord Ripon, and stated that, in their opinion, the Province should be assigned to the Crown and not to the Chartered Company, which, they added, would govern the country in the interests of unscrupulous traders.'

The speech was a sledge-hammer one, ranging over a wide variety of topics, and it closed with the passionate

declaration that although, for his efforts on behalf of unborn millions of the Empire, he claimed the highest reward that a human being could desire, that reward was only the trust and confidence of his fellow-citizens. As with Sir Hercules Robinson, on a somewhat similar occasion, the necessarily condensed cabled reports of this speech conveyed a very false idea of its general tenor. The English press, with some honourable exceptions, raised a shrill cry of reprehension. The *Spectator* declared that there was in the speech an unmistakable threat of independence if the mother country did not yield. The *Saturday Review* considered that the language used was of a very questionable character. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had yet to learn that the House of Commons could be browbeaten by after-dinner speeches. Even the *Times*, more in sorrow than in anger, thundered its disapproval. On the other hand, the provincial press expressed saner views. The *Western Morning News* said that Mr. Rhodes had put his case strongly but discreetly, and as he had borne the burden and heat of the day he was entitled to its fruits. The *Nottingham Daily Guardian* asserted that Her Majesty's Government could not permanently thwart Colonial opinion, and it would be an act of wicked folly to try. The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* remarked that Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the population of South Africa were pitted against the Marquis of Ripon, with the odds immensely against the latter.

When the text of the speech arrived in London, this storm in a tea-cup subsided in a remarkable manner. Meanwhile, Rhodes took an active part in the Cape general election which, during January, was in full swing. On 15th January he was entertained by his white employees at Kimberley, and dealt with a charge

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that was being made to the effect that they could only vote as they were bid. 'Let us,' he said, 'get rid of this ridiculous statement which scarcely deserves refutation. My test in regard to you is not your political ideas but your manual work and your ability to keep your positions, and though, in one sense, it would be pleasant to me if you supported those who support my policy and thus make me secure for the next five years, at the same time it would be almost a satisfaction if some of you voted the other way just to refute this wretched insinuation.'

After this unconventional political speech, Rhodes proceeded to his own constituency, having meanwhile, however, addressed his shareholders at their annual meeting on the 18th January. On 29th January he made a declaration of policy at Barkly West, stating that the aim of the Cape should be to pool all South African railway receipts and divide the proceeds. He added that in regard to native land tenure, his idea was to give individual title to agricultural land, and communal title for grazing land. Pondoland, he said, was the greatest problem he had to deal with at the moment. Speaking as Minister for Native Affairs, he declared that although the Colony must proceed tactfully and with the approval of the High Commissioner, yet the Pondos must be sternly dealt with if they continued their cruel internal dissensions.

On 30th January Rhodes spoke to other constituents of his, the river diggers at Klipdam, and answering the taunt that his was a Bond-ridden Ministry, he asked them to say whether they had ever had such a volume of progressive legislation before his assumption of office. The election struggle over all parts of the Colony was severe, but the final issue was a triumph for

the Ministry. Rhodes was returned at the head of the poll for Barkly West, and the only remaining outspoken critic of the 'dual position' lost his seat. In a House of 76 members the Opposition could only rely with confidence on the votes of 18 of its supporters. But an eyewitness describes Rhodes about this date as 'thin, grey and haggard.'

Having thus consolidated his political position, he concentrated his attention upon the affairs of Pondoland. For months past the Cape Mounted Police had been occupied in protecting the Colonial borders from the raids of the unquiet tribes whose rival factions were desolating the territory. The Ama-Pondos, 200,000 strong, who inhabited the fertile East Coast country between the Umtata and Umtamvuna Rivers, were a turbulent rather than a warlike race. Their land borders marched with those of the Cape provinces of Tembuland and Griqualand East, and touched Natal at its south-eastern corner. Driven from their original home by the forays of Chaka, the Zulu king, they found shelter in the broken country through which runs the beautiful river of St. John. The country was ruled by two chiefs of a common ancestry, but who now inhabited East and West Pondoland respectively. To prevent an illicit trade in arms, the port of St. John was secured in 1878, by a treaty between the paramount chief Ngwiliso and Sir Bartle Frere, and a protectorate over the whole coastline was declared by Her Majesty's Government in 1885. Umquikela, one of the two chiefs, was subsidised by the Cape Government and supervised by the High Commissioner, whose influence had some slight effect in limiting the atrocities to which the tribe was addicted. When, however, Sigcau, 'the spider,' succeeded Umquikela, the enormities he

perpetrated and permitted called aloud for intervention. Sir Henry Loch attempted by a personal visit in 1893 to recall the chief to a sense of his duty, but Sigcau kept His Excellency waiting for three days before he would accord him an interview, and in this and other ways behaved with great arrogance. The visit, therefore, was fruitless. Rhodes was not to be so treated. Negotiations with Her Majesty's Government and Natal resulted in an agreement that Pondoland should be annexed to the Cape and, as soon as the general election was over, Rhodes set out for the Territory, accompanied by his private secretary, Mr.—now Sir William—Milton, and an escort of 100 Mounted Police under Colonel Stanford. Strong representations were made to him not to undertake such a dangerous journey, but he persisted. The omens were not propitious. On one occasion an immense boulder blocked the road and rendered further wheeled transport impracticable. Whether it fell by accident or was placed there by design, the effect on the native mind was decisive, and the camp following deserted in a body. Even Stanford, an experienced officer, advocated a retreat, but Rhodes replied that he would go forward if he went alone, and the little party, though much diminished in numbers, pushed on. The first visit was paid to Nqwiliso. The meeting took place on the 8th April 1894, at a spot about fifteen miles from Umtata, the chief's 'Great Place,' but now the site of a flourishing township with an Anglican Cathedral. Nqwiliso and his councillors, Bokleni and Nqweketo, attended by 300 armed followers, came to the Indaba in barbaric state. Rhodes informed them that their country was annexed, and that all he said and did was with the authority of the great White Queen: that

he was actuated by no greed for territory but in the interests of the tribe and of humanity. Nqwiliso, now an old man, and weak rather than wicked, raised many querulous objections with all the ingenuity of a Kafir lawyer. But Rhodes, while making conciliatory replies to reasonable requests, put his foot down whenever the chief blustered; and when a young induna, Valelo, questioned Rhodes's authority in an insolent manner, he was peremptorily told to take himself off. Nqwiliso finally submitted to the inevitable and entered upon a long historical disquisition to show that from the days of his grandfather Faku, the tribe had always been loyal, adding that he had sent a message to Sigcau advising him to be amenable. Rhodes listened with patience, but after the articles of annexation were signed, he called Bokleni aside and, addressing him with stern severity, told him that his numberless crimes were known to him, and that if he continued his career of murder he would fare badly. 'I am now your chief,' he said, 'and what I say I will do. If you talk mischief, even at night, I shall hear you. You will never be safe. I will kill you if you deserve it, as I killed Lo Bengula.'

Bokleni was speechless and terror-stricken, and, what to him was worse, the tribe saw it. Rhodes now proceeded to St. John's and from there to the neighbourhood of Sigcau's chief kraal. Bearing in mind the chief's treatment of the High Commissioner, Rhodes pitched camp, and instead of seeking an interview, summoned Sigcau to attend on him at once. After some hesitation, the chief complied, but on one pretext or another was kept waiting for three days, the precise treatment he had meted out to the High Commissioner. The punishment exactly fitted the crime, and ap-

pealed irresistibly to that sense of humour which is so marked a characteristic of the native races of South Africa. Sigcau found himself the object of ridicule, and for a time it humbled him. When at length an interview was granted, Rhodes used that tone of authority which is alone intelligible to the native mind. Sigcau, for the first time in his life, heard his conduct described as it deserved, and sullenly acquiesced in his fate.

It may be stated here that Rhodes was censured in some quarters for not disarming the Pondos, but the recent failure of the disarmament policy in Basutoland doubtless influenced him, and his decision has been amply justified by results. He was also blamed about this date for a declaration made at Umtata that no concessions by Pondo chiefs would be recognised by Government until they had passed the scrutiny of the High Commissioner. The reservation was a very wise one.

On 17th May, in the absence of Sir Henry Loch, the first session of the new Parliament was opened at Cape Town by General Sir W. Cameron. His speech recorded the peaceful and prosperous condition of the Colony, but stated that Pondoland was still disturbed, Sigcau having declined to admit the Resident, although all other chiefs had loyally submitted. To avert civil war a Colonial force had been concentrated in the Territory under the control of the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland.

On the same day Rhodes gave notice that at an early date he would move the formal annexation of all Pondoland. On 21st May he moved accordingly, and gave the House a graphic description of the steps he had already taken to maintain order and put down witchcraft. He said the chiefs had pleaded for Home Rule as in Basutoland, for which they were as yet

unfit, and that in his opinion Colonial Magistrates must exercise sole jurisdiction. Sauer concurred, but quizzed the Prime Minister for his silence as to the details of his own visit to the Territory. The motion was agreed to without a division.

On 22nd May Rhodes proposed for Chairman of Committees Mr. Theron, the titular Chairman of the Afrikander Bond, of whom he spoke in terms of warm admiration. The Opposition nominated Sir Thomas Scanlen, an experienced lawyer and former Prime Minister. The appointment, being thus made a party question, a trial of strength ensued, and Rhodes carried his man by 42 to 27. The soundness of his judgment may be inferred by the fact that from that day to his lamented death in 1908, Theron was elected to the post session after session without serious opposition. Small in stature and mild in manner, his inflexible integrity and exemplary fair-mindedness carried him triumphantly through many anxious years, and few Houses of Assembly have been presided over, for so long a period, by a Chairman of such marked ability and unquestioned impartiality.

On 4th June the Pondoland Annexation Bill was read a second time without a division, and a fortnight later Rhodes made an interesting speech on the course of trade in Rhodesia, stating that when applying for the Matabeleland Order in Council, he endeavoured to insert a clause stipulating that Rhodesian Customs duties should, in respect of British goods, at no time be permitted to exceed the tariff then in force at the Cape; and secondly, that no duties at all should be leviable on Cape produce. Her Majesty's Government, he said, had vetoed his suggestion on the ground that differential duties were incompatible with their general

fiscal policy. He read *in extenso* his Minute on the subject, dated 22nd May—a Minute which had received the support of the High Commissioner, but in which Her Majesty's Government had declined to acquiesce unless the phrase 'British goods' was altered to read 'imported goods,' so as to ensure against Great Britain obtaining any advantage over foreign competitors.

'The provision,' he said, 'was suggested by me to prevent the imposition of prohibitive duties hereafter and in the interests of Great Britain, whose people are beginning to see that the only return that can be made by the Colonies they have founded for all the blood and treasure they have spent, is a preferential tariff in favour of home manufactures. If Her Majesty's Government persist in rejecting this offer, the onus rests with them. The insertion of the clause is immaterial to the Chartered Company and is solely in the interests of the mother country. The matter is over for the present, but the views of home politicians change, and I shall continue to use all my influence to insist on my offer being carried into effect. I mean to fight until Her Majesty's Government give in, and I am quite sure that wiser cousels will ultimately prevail. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)'

Rhodes was as good as his word. He fought strenuously for four years, with the result that clause 47 of a new Order in Council, assented to on 20th October 1898, runs as follows :—

'No customs duties levied on any articles produced or manufactured in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions or in any British Protectorate, and imported into Southern Rhodesia, shall exceed in amount the duties levied on such articles according to the tariff in force in the South African Customs Union at the commencement of this Order,' etc.

By virtue of this provision the settlers in Rhodesia have for many years enjoyed the tariff rates prevailing in 1898, although far higher duties have since been levied by the remaining parties to the South African Customs Union: and secondly, they have been led to transact the bulk of their trade with Great Britain, owing to the rise in the duties on foreign goods.

Other more important oversea dominions of the Empire have since followed where Rhodes led the way.

A day or two after the above speech was delivered, the High Commissioner arrived from England, but proceeded at once to Pretoria under instructions from the Marquis of Ripon to discuss with President Kruger the burning questions of the future of Swaziland, the commandeering of British subjects against their will, and the other growing grievances of the Uitlanders. It is important to note that this, the first step to protect British subjects in the Transvaal, was taken by a Liberal Government.

Unfortunately Sir Henry Loch's arrival in Pretoria was made the occasion of an unseemly demonstration, the British flag being offensively displayed, much to the President's annoyance. This was an inauspicious prelude to a delicate negotiation. Ultimately the working basis of an agreement in regard to Swaziland was arrived at, and British subjects at the front—or in gaol for refusing to go to the front—were released, but the redress of other substantial grievances was evaded. A month after the High Commissioner's visit, a mass meeting at Johannesburg having demanded the franchise, the Volksraad, by a piece of lightning legislation, passed at a single sitting an Ordinance prohibiting, under threat of fine and imprisonment, any outdoor meeting composed of more than six persons.

This was a poor return for the High Commissioner's acquiescence in the President's request that he would not visit Johannesburg. His letter in reply to that of the President is dated 27th June 1894, and is a model of dignified courtesy. 'I am encouraged by your frankness to be equally frank with your Honour,' he said, 'and to explain the views I have formed from an impartial and friendly observation of the existing situation. British subjects have, I think, some very real and substantial grievances. . . . It is not for me to make any detailed suggestions to your Honour on this subject, but I may bring to your notice one consideration which will prove to your Honour the importance of dealing with any grievances that may exist in a sympathetic spirit. There is, I believe, an alien white population at present in the Republic of about 40,000 persons. A few years may see this population almost doubled, and if they suffered under the same grievances, it would be almost impossible to avert the dangers which have already threatened. I am sure your Honour will not misunderstand my motives in making these observations. They are made in the spirit of a true friend with a genuine desire to promote the prosperity of the people of this country, and I shall be gratified to learn that any grievances of which British subjects may complain will receive the early consideration of your Honour and your Honour's Government.'

The President may be excused for doubting whether the 'alien population' were anxious to possess a franchise which, with burgher rights, entailed burgher responsibilities; but it is regrettable that he did not recognise the ring of sincerity underlying these utterances of an English gentleman.

Before Sir Henry Loch left Pretoria, an address was presented to him signed by 14,800 British residents in the Republic, assuring His Excellency that the situation was fraught with the possibility of very serious results. But the President was inexorable and obsessed with the idea that Rhodes was at the bottom of the agitation. The best evidence of the fallacy of this assumption was subsequently published by the Transvaal Government itself. The Republican Green Book No. 2, issued after the Raid, contains a variety of letters and telegrams captured by the Boers at Doornkop, which conclusively prove that at the date of Sir Henry Loch's visit the leading capitalists were holding aloof from the Reform movement and manifesting a disinclination to consult Rhodes on the matter. Thus on 10th June Mr. Lionel Phillips, writing to Beit, says :—

'Kruger is no friend of the industry. He suspects we are all working in concert with Rhodes, sees imaginary combinations looming in the distance and the whole country bought up by Rhodes.'

Again, on 16th June, '—— and —— urge me to go down to Cape Town and talk over matters with Rhodes. . . . Would it be wise to trust Rhodes's advice? If you trust him and cable "See Rhodes," I will run down, but my own feeling is still to wait.'

On 15th July he writes, 'Just got your cable "Do not see Rhodes," of which I am rather glad.'

The Green Book, from which these extracts are made, shows, incidentally, that at this time the influence of Rhodes was a moderating one. One of the extracts from the Hon. R. White's captured diary reads as follows :—

'14th April 1894. Arrived at Groote Schuur in time to lunch with Rhodes. He hopes in time, by force of

reason and weight of population, to win over the Transvaal.'

But I must return to the Cape Parliament, whose Dutch members were much moved by the press reports of the alleged insult to the Republican flag in Pretoria. For once their allegiance to Rhodes was seriously strained. Blood was thicker than water and they did not, as a rule, possess that larger patriotism which regarded the welfare of South Africa as a whole. Their anxiety was rather lest their Republican cousins should be coerced to abate their sovereign rights. Our suzerainty they ignored. A grave warning, given by the House of Assembly to Kruger on the lines of that formulated by Loch, would have carried great weight, but it was never given, and the President was thus tacitly encouraged to persevere in the course which led to his undoing.

On 27th June Van der Walt, subsequently a rebel to his own Government, moved as an unopposed motion, 'That this House desires to express its regret at and disapproval of the unseemly display of disrespect towards the President and Government of the Transvaal Republic by individuals representing themselves as British subjects on the occasion of the official and friendly visit of His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner.' An objection being raised, the motion could not be put, but the mover attained his object by now moving the adjournment of the House.

Rhodes, as a practical politician, was anxious not to break with his Bond followers, but, on the other hand, he sincerely believed that the President's obstinacy threatened the peace of South Africa. He accordingly rose and, while condemning the flag incident, pointed out that the High Commissioner's visit was a

timely one and conceived in the best interests of the country. After considerable discussion, the motion, at his request, was withdrawn.

On 3rd July the subject of the approaching Colonial Conference at Ottawa was discussed and, led by Rhodes, the House reaffirmed 'its adhesion to the policy of preferential relations with other Colonies and with the mother country.'

On 4th July, in discussion on the Estimates, the House exhibited a desire to reimpose Customs duties at Walfisch Bay, which had been suspended in favour of the German Government. Rhodes while admitting that Germany had blocked his Transcontinental Telegraph Company for two years on paltry pretexts, still deprecated the system of reprisals, and the matter dropped.

On 7th July an attempt, annually repeated, was made to emasculate the law for the eradication of scab in sheep. The Cape Dutch flockmaster, always an individualist and unable to grasp the value of corporate action, passively and sometimes actively resists a measure designed to improve the quality of Colonial wool. Rhodes would not yield to the obsolete prejudices of his supporters on the point, and in various divisions he won by large majorities.

On 26th July he moved the second reading of his principal measure, the Glen Grey Bill, which he proposed as a solution of the vexed question of native land tenure, and as calculated to raise the status of the coloured races by interesting them in a simple system of local self-government. He propounded his scheme in a speech extending over an hour and forty minutes. Briefly put, he desired to prevent white men from obtaining a footing in native territories and ousting the natives from the soil. He therefore proposed to estab-

lish Village and District Councils on which natives could sit to discuss educational and other questions, with power to levy rates and partially remit them where the applicant had served a white master for a specific period. It was in many respects a novel and courageous Bill, and was received by the House with approval. The debate was continued on 30th July and on 2nd August. Criticisms there were, but no important member challenged the principles of the measure. Merriman made a fine speech, critical but appreciative. Sauer and Innes displayed the same spirit, and Rhodes, having summed up, the second reading was carried by 62 to 3.

The following week in Committee, the Bill met with a stormier reception, culminating in obstruction, whereupon Rhodes announced that he would sit all night rather than give way. And sit he did, till seven o'clock on the following morning. The Government majorities, save in regard to one unimportant sub-section, were always substantial, and on 9th August the Bill was read a third time by 51 to 16, and after some slight amendments in the Upper House, it was finally passed into law.

As it is important to define the attitude of Rhodes to the natives in his own words, I subjoin the following extract from his introductory speech.

'There seems,' he said, 'a general feeling that the natives are a distinct source of trouble and loss to the country. I take a different view. When I see the troubles that are going to arise in England over the social and labour questions, I feel glad that here the question of labour is a native question. We shall, therefore, not have here what recently occurred in Chicago, where the labour party wrecked the city.

Properly directed and looked after, I think our natives should be an assistance to us and a source of wealth. I have the responsibility, on one side of the Zambesi and the other, for 2,000,000 natives, and the House has generally left to me the settlement of the questions bearing upon the government of these people. They are increasing enormously: their locations are too small for them. The old diminution by pestilence and wars has ceased. We have put nothing in the place of their old tribal war and intrigue, which were excellent things in their way to keep their minds employed. (Laughter.) We have instead placed canteens in their midst and never taught them the dignity of labour, though their labour is badly wanted. (Hear, hear.) Natives have said to me, "Do let us try to deal with some of our own questions." In submitting these facts to the House, I may say I desire to give the natives an interest in the land: to allow the superior minds among them to attend to their local wants; to close the canteens and give a stimulus to labour. These are the four principal points in the Bill. Glen Grey alone is dealt with, but if the policy succeeds, I shall ask the House to apply the Act to other areas. Then there is the question of polygamy. Some members urge that the natives should, in this respect, be as ourselves. Whatever may happen in the future, this is not at present a tenable proposition. When in the Transkei a little while ago, I came across an intelligent native with six wives. He told me the Missionaries had urged him to read the Bible and put away all his wives but one. But he had read in the Bible that many people had many wives—(laughter)—and he could find no instruction to put away all but one. He asked my opinion—(laughter)—but I told him I had no wife at

all. (Laughter.) With regard to the franchise, it will remain the same as before. If natives are already validly on the register they will have a vote, and in any case the erection of a house of the value of £75 will qualify them. I propose to displace those who have been improperly placed on the register for party purposes. The next feature of the Bill is the Labour Tax. It is not slavery but a gentle stimulus. I think it will prove an inducement to men to go out and work. Those who do will be better off under the Act than they were before. I would tax the natives moderately, but, by means of a native Council, I would allow them to deal with their own revenue and their own local affairs, their roads, bridges and schools. Veldman (a Fingo chief), whose name is a household word, begged me to do something of this kind. Then as to the liquor. I know its curse: I have studied the Report of the Labour Commission. I have personally helped at the Diamond Fields to make 10,000 of these poor adult children healthy and happy. In their former condition they were living in a hell upon earth. I would close the canteens with compensation.

'Now I come to the question of Title. My idea is that the natives should be in Reserves and not mixed up with white men. I would allow no native allotment to be sold without Government consent, and I would forfeit an allotment for crime or neglect to cultivate, and lastly, I would prohibit subdivision. It is now for the House to determine whether the Bill carries out the policy aimed at. It is an earnest effort to deal with the natives for their own benefit and ours, and to teach them how to contribute to the common prosperity by giving us some return for the good government we have afforded them.' (Loud cheers.)

The insight displayed in this speech contributed to the passage of the Bill, and as soon as the measure was through both Houses the session terminated, Rhodes's parting words being, 'The Government are perfectly satisfied with the session. (Laughter and cheers.) I have been fourteen years in the House and have never known a session—(more laughter and cheers)—well, the decision can be left to the country. (Hear, hear.)'

During the session Rhodes had found time to send a long letter to the *Saturday Review* to elucidate his views on the Tariff question, and to remove the apprehensions of that paper as to the possible results of his Fiscal policy.

Groote Schuur, by this time, had become an open house for political and private friends and distinguished visitors. The Archbishop of Armagh was there during the session, followed, later, by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, by the Duke of Abercorn and many others. But Rhodes was seldom at home. On 10th September Schreiner returned to the Ministry as Attorney-General, and Rhodes started for the North. There was no longer any necessity for travelling coastwise by way of Beira. On this occasion, therefore, he proceeded overland *via* Kimberley and Bulawayo, taking with him as travelling companion the well-known American mining engineer, Mr. John Hays Hammond. He left some threatening complications behind him. The troubles of Germany in South-West Africa were already coming to a head, while on the East Coast the Portuguese were virtually besieged by native tribes, who threatened Lourenço Marquez itself. True to his policy of supporting white rule against native revolt, Rhodes offered armed assistance to the Portuguese, which, on 11th October, was gratefully declined as unnecessary.

The Swazis were also discontented at the terms of Sir Henry Loch's Convention, which virtually handed their Territory over to the Boers, and they sent a deputation to England praying for a British protectorate, which was refused.

Mr. Hammond shall tell the story of his trip with Rhodes in his own words. Under date the 31st October, 1907, he writes to me :—

'There is an impression in this country, where little is really known of Cecil Rhodes, that an important part of his fame rests upon the fact that he was a great financier, and was not altogether scrupulous as to his methods of finance. This is a great injustice to him, and my business relations, which were most intimate, entirely refute such impressions.

'He was a man who cared little for money, save to do big things, chiefly for the benefit of South Africa, and he was exceptionally scrupulous as to the methods employed to make money. I think I can tell you an experience that I had with him which was strikingly characteristic of him in this regard.

'In 1894 I made a trip, with Rhodes and Jameson, through what was then known as Matabeleland and Mashonaland. I visited those countries in a professional capacity to determine their value from a mining point of view. It was of the greatest moment to Rhodes at the time that my report should be favourable, both for political and financial reasons. Notwithstanding this fact, during the many days that we rode and drove together there was not the slightest attempt on his part to influence my opinion, nor, indeed, did he endeavour to obtain from me any premature expression of opinion as to the value of the country. He showed most exceptional delicacy in abstaining from embarrass-

ing questions—questions that nine men out of ten would have asked me—and, as he was making these trips solely for the purpose of showing me the country, with the hope that my report would be favourable, which meant the investment of large sums by the British capitalists for the development of the country, this showed extreme consideration on his part.

'Before my examination was completed I was enabled to give Rhodes an expression of opinion from a geological point of view as to the mining possibilities. After several weeks spent in this work, we arrived in Johannesburg, and I prepared my report and submitted it to him shortly afterwards. Dr. Jameson, and another man prominently connected with the Chartered Company and interested in the stock of that Company, were present when I read my report. This other party (not Dr. Jameson) after I had read my report, said, "Well, if we have to depend on Hammond's geological report to raise money for this country, I do not think the outlook is very encouraging, for, if he cannot say anything stronger than that, I have not much hope for the future of the Chartered Company." Mr. Rhodes replied immediately, "You are one of the men that simply look on the Chartered Company as a means of making money through the sale of shares. But Hammond is absolutely right. He has said everything that he is justified in saying, and the public will see that it is the report of a conscientious engineer and fully credit every word he says. You had better go and sell your Chartered shares."

'There are other hard things said against Rhodes by people who are not friendly or did not know him. Among these things I have often heard it stated that he was a cold-blooded man who would not hesitate to

sacrifice his best friend, and I was told after our arrest and imprisonment during the time of the Jameson Raid in 1896, "that it was not worrying Rhodes very much." On this point I have absolute refutation from information that I received some time afterwards from those persons who were present with him when he heard of our death sentence. He was almost frantic at that time with anxiety about us. I met him a few months after our release, in London, the first night he arrived from South Africa in connection with the Raid investigation. I called at his hotel, at his request. There were a great many very important persons to see him on his arrival. He espied me in the back of the crowd and came forward and took me by the hand and said, "Hammond, I want to see you, old fellow." I said, "I can wait awhile, for there are a lot of others ahead of me here, and if you have not any other engagement, I will stay and take dinner with you to-night, and we can have a long talk then." He replied, "No, come with me now." He took me to his bedroom and was greatly affected when he told me how anxious and distressed he had been about the four leaders, and, especially, about me, as my wife was in delicate health at the time.

'On another occasion, shortly afterwards, there was another episode which indicated greatness of character in Mr. Rhodes. Soon after his return to England, on the occasion I have referred to, the Baroness Burdett Coutts gave a large dinner and reception in his honour. Mrs. Hammond and I were invited, and, as we entered the door, Mr. Rhodes, who was receiving with the Baroness, grasped my wife by the hand and took her aside and said, "Mrs. Hammond, I know what you have been thinking about me. The last time I saw you

I told you that I never spent sleepless nights, but I have spent many of them since that time. You have also thought," he went on, "that this setback that I have had in my career would be a good thing for me, as I was getting too arbitrary in my ways of thinking and acting, and I want to tell you that you are entirely right. It is a terrible humbling of my pride, but, in the long run, it will be a splendid thing for me, because it will make me a far more reasonable and considerate man."'

Another companion of Rhodes during the trips with Mr. Hammond writes to me as follows :—

'One incident of our tour may be described. It occurred on the way out to the Ayrshire Mine. We met a prospector walking to the mine. Mr. Rhodes pulled up at once and insisted on his getting into the waggon and travelling with us the rest of the way. At dinner that night at Mr. Rhodes's request, he related some of his experiences and told us he was going home to be married at the end of the year. "Mind you let me know the date," said Mr. Rhodes, and the man got a handsome present when the event came off. It was by such acts as this that he made himself so beloved. He always had a sympathetic ear and never refused an interview, and he frequently sought out and helped the pioneers of 1890 and the members of the Matabele field force of 1893.'

On 23rd October Rhodes, back at Kimberley from the North, again left for Cape Town, where, on 27th of the same month, he attended a banquet given to Dr. Jameson. In response to the toast of the Ministry, Rhodes paid a high tribute to the courtesy, love of order and consideration for opponents characterising the various Cape Parliaments in which he had been privileged to sit.

Four days later, he sailed in the *Dunottar Castle* for England, where he arrived on 17th November, and at once plunged into negotiations with the Foreign and Colonial Offices regarding the administration of that portion of South Central Africa now known as North-Eastern Rhodesia. The arrangement finally come to took effect from 31st December,. but the document, signed for Her Majesty's Government by H. Percy Anderson and for the Chartered Company by Rhodes, is dated 24th November, only a week after the latter landed. No wonder one of the Foreign Office officials ruefully described him as 'a hustler.' Moreover, this transaction by no means exhausted his business activities, for he threw himself simultaneously heart and soul into his great project of the Cape to Cairo Transcontinental Telegraph Company; and he found time to visit Constantinople, interview the Sultan and, contrary to all precedent, obtain permission to export thoroughbred Angora goats to South Africa.

The whole year 1894 is, indeed, a signal example of Rhodes's untiring and successful energy. At its close he again found himself one of the lions of the London season, a transient glory for which he had no fancy. On Friday, 7th December, Sir Hercules Robinson writes to me :—

'I met Rhodes at dinner last night. He is in great form and being made much of all round. He dined and slept at Windsor on Tuesday last, and next Sunday is to stay with Lord Rosebery at Mentmore. I advised him, on landing, to avoid speechmaking, and he has done so—I think with much advantage.'

On 20th December, Rhodes received a note from Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, from which I quote a characteristic sentence: 'Is there any chance of persuading

you to pay us a visit in our Forest, almost as savage as your Matabeleland? You cannot transact any business in London at Christmas time, and we could sell you any number of telegraph poles here.'

Earlier in the year Mrs. Gladstone had written to him from Dollis Hill, recommending a friendless young settler to his notice and adding, 'My husband wishes to be remembered to you. He is well and enjoying his freedom.'

It is clear, from many other letters found among his papers, that during the year now under review Rhodes was recognised in the most influential circles as a great Colonial statesman, a man to be counted and reckoned with on all the burning questions of the day.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GATHERING STORM (1895)

Rhodes a Privy Councillor—Blackballed at Travellers' Club—Reform and Athenæum Clubs elect him—Meeting of Chartered shareholders—Kruger and Germany—Dr. Leyds—Swaziland—Amatongaland—Mr. St. Ledger—Mr. Edmund Garrett—Retirement of Sir H. Loch—Rhodes in House of Assembly—An educated native—Arrival of Sir H. Robinson—Annexation of Bechuanaland—Merriman calls for papers—Walfisch Bay—Hofmeyr's birthday—House prorogued—Mr. Chamberlain—Selous—Transvaal pin-pricks—Orange Free State policy—High Commissioner visits Transvaal—A 'jumping-off' ground—Drifts question—Gravity of position—Jameson Raid.

THE year 1895 will long be remembered in South Africa. The Uitlander question in the Transvaal developed day by day. At first a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, it gradually overspread the political firmament. Reflective minds saw, as a possibility, that an armed conflict between the two white races might open up the far greater question of the attitude of the native population towards both.

During the year Rhodes touched both high- and low-water mark. On 1st January he was gazetted a Privy Councillor, and on 2nd February, at the Court at Osborne House, he took the quaint oath to 'lett and withstand anything said or done against the Dignity Royal.' On 31st December his unique power and prestige tumbled into ruin, and he was apparently a broken man.

During January he remained quietly in England, gathering up the threads of his multifarious business affairs. Sir Hercules Robinson, writing to me on 18th January, said, 'I had a long talk with Rhodes

yesterday. He is well and less irritable than on his last visit.'

His headquarters were, as usual, at the Burlington Hotel, and its manager still recalls with pleasure that, having a son born to him that month, Rhodes made daily inquiries as to the health of the baby.[1]

It was also in January that he came up for election at the Travellers' Club and was blackballed. Inconspicuous, respectable mediocrities generally pass this ordeal successfully, but a much-advertised candidate, the theme of newspaper gossip, the man with many friends and therefore with many foes, often finds the ballot-box utilised against him. An indignant friend and admirer wrote to Rhodes that the Committee of the Reform Club were prepared to make amends by electing him as one of three eminent persons, whom they were entitled annually to appoint members without a ballot. Rhodes, however, had returned to the Cape in the *Athenian*, arriving there on 19th February. The following was his reply, which, for a wonder, bears a date :—

'10*th April* 1895.

'My dear Sir,—Many thanks for your kind offer as to the Reform Club. I have, however—for a non-resident—clubs enough, as I belong to St. James's and Union. I hear they declined to have me at the Travellers': I suppose because I am written about. I was not aware I was up, as I was put down by an old friend, Guy Dawnay, dead these ten years ago, and I had forgotten all about it.—Yours truly,

'C. J. Rhodes.'

[1] During this month he attended the Imperial Institute on one occasion when Dr. Jameson delivered a lecture. The Prince of Wales was present, and made a short speech which contained graceful reference to the presence of Rhodes.

The Committee of the Athenæum, however, on the proposal of Mr. R. H. Meade, seconded by Lord Rosebery, elected him while he was on the water, and cabled to him that they had done so.

Before leaving England, Rhodes, on 18th January, spoke at a meeting of the shareholders of the Chartered Company held at the Cannon Street Hotel. The meeting was fixed for noon, but an hour before, the doors had to be thrown open owing to the vast crowd assembled. The Duke of Fife was in the chair, supported by Earl Grey and others. Rhodes, and Jameson who was with him, had an enthusiastic reception. The Duke, who made an excellent speech, closed with these words: 'It has sometimes been said that my friend, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, exercises a spell over our fellow-subjects in South Africa. I do not know if this be true, but when I made his acquaintance six years ago, and when he sketched out his views and emphasised them by huge pencil strokes on a map, I could not but see what vast possibilities for British enterprise and colonisation were opening out in this, almost the last, unoccupied space of the world, and it will always be to me a pleasure to have been associated, however humbly, with this great Company which has added two immense provinces to the British Empire.'

Rhodes in his subsequent speech was in his happiest vein and, while holding out hopes that the country would eventually become a great asset of the Empire, he was careful not to promise dividends; indeed, he remarked, 'When you shareholders came into our Company you came into a speculative concern, certainly not into Consols or French Rentes.' He even admitted that portions of the Territory were unhealthy, and that the drawbacks to success were many and

formidable, but underlying these words of caution there breathed such a cheery optimism and such high Imperial aspirations, that shareholders, usually so prosaic, were fascinated by an address in which imaginative powers and business capacity were strangely interwoven. A much larger circle of Englishmen, when reading the speech, were reassured as to the future in South Africa, by an incidental utterance of Rhodes to the effect that he expected no trouble with the Transvaal.

Eight days later, however, came a disturbing response from Pretoria, where a banquet was given in honour of the Kaiser's birthday. Kruger attended and made a significant speech. 'I know,' he said, 'I may count on the Germans in future, and I hope Transvaalers will do their best to foster the friendship that exists between them. . . . I feel certain that when the time comes for the Republic to wear larger clothes, you [*i.e.* Germany] will have done much to bring it about. . . . The time is coming for our friendship to be more firmly established than ever.'

In the light of after events it is easy to see that the President was relying with confidence on German intervention in the event of an armed conflict with the British Government. Dr. Leyds, at that time holding a roving commission as Plenipotentiary to all Europe, was no doubt the channel through whom Kruger received verbal assurances of moral, if not of material support. We shall see later what the assistance amounted to.

The difference in temperament and policy between Rhodes and Kruger is illustrated by an interview given by the former to the *Morning Post* before he left England. 'If I,' he said, 'were President Kruger, I dare say I might not have given the Uitlanders the franchise,

because that might have ended my own power. But I would have made my new population comfortable and given them justice. The law, as we know, is under the heel of the President. A Judge gives a decision, and then a motion, slipped through the Raad, revokes it. Every concession, almost every piece of Departmental business transacted, must be arranged with bribes.'

Here is the position in a nutshell. Rhodes, having power, would have clung to it like Kruger, but by other methods, by contenting the people as to their material interests; by 'making friends' with them, as Brand sagaciously advised. The great body of the Uitlanders valued franchise rights only as a means to an end, and that end rational legislation as affecting the gold industry, and pure administration.

In accordance with the terms of the Swaziland Convention, the President now issued a Proclamation assuming the government of that Territory, the acquisition of which he regarded as a step towards obtaining access to the sea. In this he was disappointed. Her Majesty's Government promptly checked this dangerous ambition by annexing the whole of Amatongaland, which lay between Swaziland and the coast. The President expressed his 'astonishment and regret,' and declared that the act was an unfriendly one. But after the Pretoria speech no other course was possible.

Early in 1895 an event occurred in South Africa, superficially unimportant but not without results. The *Cape Times* was then, as now, the leading organ of British Colonial opinion in the country. Its editor, Mr. F. Y. St. Leger, an able craftsman distinguished for his high sense of honour and no less keen sense of humour, retired owing to ill-health, and was succeeded by one of

the young lions of the London press, a disciple of Stead and trained on the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Edmund Garrett was a brilliant writer and possessed of extraordinary energy. Into the whirlpool of South African politics he threw himself with infinite zest, and ultimately secured a seat in the Cape Parliament. His foes accused him of taking himself too seriously, and he himself probably overestimated his influence over Rhodes, but there can be no question that he and his paper became a power in the land, and, on more than one occasion, he may fairly claim to have deflected the course of our history. His independent support was of essential service to Rhodes, although the attitude of candid friend is not always a palatable one.

At the expiration of his term of office in 1895, Sir Henry Loch left the Colony without awaiting the arrival of his successor, and Parliament was opened on 2nd May by General Goodenough. The Administrator's speech stated that the completion of the Transvaal Railway from Delagoa Bay had stimulated competition and unfavourably affected the through transit trade of the Colony; that a conference of the States concerned had recently been held in Cape Town, but without arriving at any agreement as to a division of traffic. As a remedy for this diminution of external trade, Ministers recommended internal development through the medium of branch railways. A reduction in cable rates, so long striven for, was announced, as well as the extension of the Glen Grey Act to the Transkeian territories. The annexation of Pondoland was described as complete, despite temporary local resistance. General Goodenough added that in pursuance of settled policy a Resolution would be submitted for the annexation of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland.

Transvaal ambitions in this direction were thus finally extinguished.

On the first day of the new session, Rhodes voiced the regret of the House at the enforced absence of Hofmeyr owing to continued ill-health.

'He himself, his colleagues and the whole House regretted,' he said, 'the absence of its distinguished member. He was a man of broad mind, who had deeply considered all questions affecting the Colony. Through his efforts the Swaziland Convention had been brought about—a Convention which was, he believed, an act of justice to the Transvaal.' The motion was carried unanimously. The skill will be observed with which Rhodes identified Hofmeyr and his followers with the policy of effecting, wherever possible, an amicable settlement of outstanding South African differences.

On 16th May I find Rhodes and Merriman in friendly correspondence on the subject of colonising the Kalihari to relieve the distress of landless Colonists. 'You are right,' says Merriman, 'in thinking the subject of great importance.'

Among the lighter touches of the time I quote from a letter to Rhodes from an educated native stating *inter alia*, 'I never forgotten the well treatment I received from you at Queens Town. I consider you my father and beg to inform you that I want to come and work for you in Cape Town.'

It is evident that employment was given, for the letter is endorsed in the handwriting of Rhodes, 'The faithful native! He worked a week, but household duties beneath his dignity.'

On 29th May the new Governor and High Commissioner arrived in the person of Sir Hercules Robinson,

who, against his better judgment, had been persuaded to accept the arduous responsibilities of a second term of office. It was moved that the House adjourn in order to meet His Excellency on arrival. An English-speaking member raised objections to this course and criticised the appointment with acerbity, whereupon a Dutch member declared that he was ashamed of the speaker. Sauer defended the Governor as one of the most distinguished servants of the Crown, and Merriman remarked that Sir Hercules was beyond the suspicion of a reproach and that his previous rule had been of the greatest service to the Colony. The adjournment was carried with only one dissentient voice.

On 5th June Rhodes gave notice to move, 'That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland should be annexed to this Colony, and that the Government take such steps as may be necessary to procure the consent of Her Majesty's Government to such annexation upon suitable terms and conditions to be submitted to this House.'

His former colleagues were not against this proposal, but they were now in Opposition and saw what appeared a favourable chance of thwarting Rhodes. Between Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia lay a vast tract of territory commonly known as the Protectorate, the administration of which had already been assigned to the Chartered Company, though the assignment had not yet been carried into effect. Sauer, therefore, moved as a rider, 'And further, that in the opinion of this House the Protectorate should not be altered or affected without the previous consent of this House.'

On 10th June a full-dress debate on the whole subject ensued. Rhodes made a powerful speech, narrating

the history of both Territories. Touching on the Royal Charter, he said his effort had always been to create a system of free Tariffs from the Cape to Tanganyika; that the Chartered Company could not permanently administer its extended possessions, and that some day they would be united to the Cape Colony either by amalgamation or through Federation. He appealed to Sauer to withdraw his rider as not germane to the precise question before the House. Schreiner, in support, declared that although the land and mineral rights in the Protectorate had unquestionably for the most part been already ceded to the British South Africa Company, its administration would sooner or later accrue to the Cape Colony. In the end the rider was rejected, and the motion carried by 45 to 23.

Previously, on 6th June, Merriman had launched another attack upon the Charter by moving for copies of all correspondence between the Imperial and Colonial Governments and Rhodes as managing director of the British South Africa Company, relating to the proposed stipulation in the constitution of all Territories administered by the Company, prohibiting the imposition of Customs duties in excess of any duties then in force in the Cape Colony. He whimsically objected to this provision on the ground that he was a Free Trader, though it was not easy to see why a Free Trader should object to a clause which prohibited protective duties. The House being transparently unsympathetic, his motion was not pressed to a division.

On 18th June Rhodes again took an opportunity of referring to the acquisition of Damaraland by Germany. He admitted having been in the Ministry at the time, and that he and Merriman—then a colleague—used to say daily, 'We must have Damaraland,' like the old

Roman insistently crying, 'Delenda est Carthago, but other Ministers were supine, and when the telegram was at last sent it was too late.

The following day, Merriman, in a debate on the Estimates, admitted his dislike of the intrusion of Germany in the sphere of South African influence, and he again urged, as a retaliatory measure, the imposition of Customs duties at Walfisch Bay, which remained Cape territory, although Germany had annexed and occupied the hinterland. But Rhodes adhered to his previous decision, and declined to be led into the thorny path of retaliation.

On 4th July Hofmeyr celebrated his fiftieth birthday by giving a reception at his Cape Town house at which there was an influential gathering. Rhodes proposed his health and eulogised his patriotism, stating that his great and successful task had been to induce Dutch Colonists not to stand outside politics, but to come in and take their legitimate share in the government of the Colony.

During the whole session Rhodes's three colleagues made strenuous efforts, as in duty bound, to overthrow his Government, especially on his railway policy. But consistently supported by Bond members, he held his own in a series of divisions and, in the end, his Railway Bill was carried by 39 to 26, and the Bechuanaland Bill without a division.

On 3rd August the House was prorogued, having passed forty-three measures, mostly of a useful domestic character, including one entirely exempting property in the United Kingdom from Cape Succession duties, and also exempting similar property in sister Colonies, conditionally on the latter granting reciprocal privileges. Rhodes had again every reason to be satisfied

with the results of the session, for, in spite of the parliamentary experience and ability of the Opposition leaders, he had sustained no defeat, and appeared to be firmly in the saddle.

A word may be said regarding events occurring this year of general, if not of exclusive, interest to South Africa.

On 28th June Mr. Chamberlain became Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus inaugurating what was practically a new era, by drawing the mother country and her oversea dominions closer together, and stimulating the long dormant idea of Imperial unity.

Mr. F. C. Selous, the great hunter and attractive writer, who had performed yeoman service in Rhodesia as a pioneer, and during the Matabele war, but who had left the country without intending to return, found himself in 1895 drawn to the theatre of his former exploits. Sailing on 30th March, he spent some time in the old Colony and elsewhere, but subsequently on 20th August reached Bulawayo, and was still in the neighbourhood when, early in the coming year the Mashona rebellion burst in thunder and flame on the scattered white population of Rhodesia.

At the time of his arrival, however, the peace of the Territory appeared to be in no danger. The one lowering cloud was the daily increasing probability of a conflict between Her Majesty's Government and militant Republicanism in South Africa. Incident after incident occurred to lower confidence in a peaceful solution of existing disputes, and though Rhodes, even to a much later date, believed or judged it politic to affect to believe, that there would be no war, business men thought otherwise and made preparations for the worst. On 14th March the acting State Secretary at

Pretoria issued a circular to the effect that the circulation of 'foreign,' *i.e.* British, silver coin was prohibited by law No. 14 of 1891, and that the Government were determined strictly to enforce the prohibition. The inconvenience caused by the revival of an obsolete measure was immense.

Another sign of the times was the abandonment by the Orange Free State of Brand's judicious policy of avoiding entangling alliances. In the month of June the Volksraad of the smaller State passed a momentous resolution affirming its readiness to consider any proposal from the Transvaal for a Federal Union. This decision ripened later into a treaty, and, when war came, the State had no alternative but to throw in its lot with its neighbour, although it had not a shadow of a grievance against Great Britain.

Early in August Sir Hercules Robinson visited the Transvaal and, in more than one judicious speech, besought the Republic to remain a member of the South African family, and have none but friendly differences with the other States; but he had hardly returned to the Cape before an influential petition from the Uitlanders to the Volksraad for redress of grievances was rejected with derision, one of the Raad members daring the petitioners to 'come on and fight.'

It may be a coincidence, or it may not, but within a few weeks of this incident Colonel Frank Rhodes, on behalf of his brother, was at Ramoutsa in the Protectorate, significantly close to the Transvaal border. There, on 23rd September, he obtained cession from two native chiefs—Ikaning, chief of the Bamaliti, and Montsoia, chief of the Bora-Isile Baralong—of certain areas not in themselves extensive, but suitable for a 'jumping-off' ground. The cession was duly con-

firmed by the High Commissioner, who, in a Proclamation to that effect, dated 18th October, admitted the withdrawal of his direct jurisdiction and its transfer to the British South Africa Company, and expressly authorised the latter to appoint and control a force sufficient to maintain peace, order, and good government in the territory.

In October occurred what is known as the Drifts question, on which I need only touch with brevity. The President, a zealous supporter of his Delagoa Bay line, had permitted the railway company to put in force a prohibitive tariff between the Vaal River and Johannesburg, and when, in rejoinder, Cape merchants resorted to waggon traffic, a Transvaal proclamation was issued (1st October), closing the Drifts into the Republic on the Cape side, while leaving them open on the side of Natal. This was a clear infraction of Article 13 of the London Convention, and Rhodes called upon Her Majesty's Government to enforce their treaty rights. On 22nd October he read to me a confidential telegram to the effect that Kruger would give the Cape one-third of the heavy traffic as against two-fifths which the Colony claimed, which meant a loss of £15,000 a year to the Cape Revenue. He asked my view as to whether an amicable settlement was worth that sacrifice. I answered without hesitation in the affirmative, and he concurred, but said he must consult Hofmeyr.

Whether this offer was subsequently withdrawn or rejected, I cannot say, but no settlement was arrived at; and Mr. Chamberlain, having on 1st November arranged with the Cape Government a secret agreement to send an armed force into the Transvaal at joint expense, an intimation was despatched to the President, which convinced him that the position was a serious

one, and he at once climbed down and reopened the Drifts on 5th November.

The incident, however, was not lost on Rhodes, who immediately began to strengthen the British South Africa Police Force on the Transvaal border. Kruger, on his side, was urged by his extreme supporters to strike at once and strike home. In reply, and with a touch of that homely humour for which he was noted, he stated that before one could kill a tortoise, he must put his head out.

As the year drew to its close the tension deepened. A correspondent in the Transvaal (27th December) wrote to me: 'The situation is grave. There is a stampede of women and children. People are transferring their money to the Colony. At any moment an insurrection may take place. The leaders say they are prepared, but I think they underestimate the Boer strength. Moreover, the Uitlanders are divided amongst themselves.'

It is, of course, now known that Dr. Jameson had been for some time in possession of an undated letter from the Reform leaders urging him to come in for the protection of women and children.

Meanwhile Rhodes made no sign. What he knew and what he only guessed cannot even now be stated with precision. But at 11 o'clock at night on 29th December he verbally informed the Imperial Secretary that Jameson was moving in with an armed force. The High Commissioner commanded his instant recall, threatening to advocate abrogation of the Charter. For two days South Africa trembled with excitement and fear. Kruger appealed to Germany. Telegrams flashed continuously over the cables, and the old year died amid a scene of passion and resentment to which

it would be difficult to find a parallel since the boulevards of Paris resounded in 1870 with the cry '*à Berlin.*' To this position unyielding obstinacy on one side and precipitate retaliation on the other had brought South Africa, and changed in a moment the whole face of affairs.

As a matter of record it may be added that Jameson's column left Mafeking on Sunday evening, 28th December, was reinforced at Pitsani the following day, received on Tuesday an order from the High Commissioner to return immediately, and, disregarding the warning, pushed on and came into action on 31st December, thus bringing a fateful year to a disastrous close.

CHAPTER XXX

THE RAID AND ITS RESULTS (1896)

Kaiser's cablegram—Mr. Schreiner—Rhodes resigns—In seclusion at Groote Schuur—Objects of Raid—Rhodes in Kimberley—Returns and sails for England—Leaves for Rhodesia—Fate of Johannesburg Reform Committee—Trial of Dr. Jameson—Rhodes at Salisbury—Second Matabele war—Mashona rebellion—Rhodes speaks at Bulawayo—Peace negotiations—Incidents of the campaign—Rhodes starts for Cape Town—Groote Schuur burnt down—Reception at Port Elizabeth—Proceeds to Kimberley—De Beers Meeting—Arrives in Cape Town—Anecdotes.

THE literature of the Raid, official and unofficial, is on a generous scale.

Apologists on the one part and denunciators on the other have outwearied the world with applause or invective. More sober conclusions will be found by studying the reports of the English and Colonial Select Committees.

I do not propose to stir these troubled waters afresh. A few salient dates and facts must suffice, and the only point I desire to emphasise is that the great Adventure was not a cause but an effect. The Raid was not the cause of the Boer War, but a picturesque and irregular episode in the long duel between Republican aspirations and the settled convictions of those who preferred British institutions under the supremacy of the Crown. The Raid, indeed, retarded rather than accelerated the final struggle in that it tied for a while the hands of the paramount power.

On New Year's Day 1896, Jameson, still on march, received a second warning despatch—this time from

the British Agent in Pretoria; but it was too late to recede, and he contented himself with calling on the Johannesburg Reform Committee to send out a column in aid. But the Committee, as my correspondent had predicted, were divided among themselves, and unprepared for heroic action, or even for action of any kind. The raiders were left to their fate. Jameson, after several skirmishes by the way, made a last stand at Doornkop on 2nd January, was crushed by superior numbers, and surrendered.

The same night the High Commissioner, in a deplorable state of health, started for Pretoria. He was intercepted at Salt River Station by Rhodes, who tendered his resignation, but was requested to retain office for a few days.

It was, I think, on 1st January and again the following day, that Rhodes sent peremptory telegrams to Salisbury to stop the reported mobilisation of the Rhodesian Horse.

Two days later—3rd January—the President received the following consolatory message from the German Emperor:—'I tender you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly Powers you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without. 'WILHELM I.R.'

This impulsive communication was of essential service to South Africa as showing to what lengths foreign intervention might be carried, unless we composed our own internal differences. Those who loved Eng-

land burst into a flame of resentment. The *Times* regarded the step as a distinctly unfriendly one. Even men who loved England little, but who loved Germany less, took the message ill. It drew from Hofmeyr an indignant reply. 'Allow me,' he wrote to his Dutch organ *Ons Land*, 'to say publicly what I have repeatedly stated to friends privately ever since Kaiser Wilhelm's blundering utterances on recent South African occurrences became known. I took his interference for mere bluster not deserving any consideration. . . . Nobody knows better than His Imperial Majesty that the first German shot fired against England would be followed by a combined French and Russian attack on "das Vaterland," and by the acquisition by England of all German colonies, Damaraland included, which would not be an unmixed blessing for the Cape.'

The power behind the Throne became visible a little later when, to the accompaniment of ribald laughter, it was announced that Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal agent, was in Berlin at the time 'consulting a throat specialist.'

Repulsed in this direction, the Kaiser now applied to Portugal for permission to land marines at Delagoa Bay 'to guard German Consulates in the Transvaal.' The request was refused.

Meanwhile Rhodes continued to press for the acceptance of his resignation, and on 8th January it was known that Sir Gordon Sprigg had agreed to form a ministry. Owing, however, to the refusal of Mr. Schreiner to accept the position of Attorney-General, delay occurred, and the cabinet were not gazetted until 13th January. The combination, as finally arranged, was not a strong one, but not even his political enemies ever accused Sir Gordon Sprigg of want of courage

where the acceptance of ministerial responsibility was concerned.

The sincere attachment of Schreiner to his late leader breathes, not without pathos, in a letter from him dated Kalk Bay, 13th January:—'Whatever you suffer and whatever you seem to have lost or be losing, don't let them induce you to do anything small. You must go on living your life on big lines. Rest and wait, and your grasp will return. I am so anxious about you, and my anxiety about your health is less keen than my apprehension, foolish perhaps, that you may be persuaded not to take and acknowledge your full responsibility for all that has occurred. If you were not, as I know, shaken by the past fortnight I would not say a word, but you will understand how my heart yearns towards you. As for me, I am all right in a way: I catch small fish with my little boy off the rocks here—and I dream still.'

I will not spoil the effect of this letter by any comment of mine.

Mrs. Schreiner, senior, was one of Rhodes's most devoted friends. To her, on 29th December, with a foreboding of approaching trouble, he must have written manfully yet tenderly, for he preserved her reply, which I here insert:—

'GRAHAMSTOWN, 29*th January* 1896.

'Surely my guardian angel prompted you to write to me on 29th December. The words have been—as you said they would be—pleasant and helpful to me in these dark days. So, too, are words just to hand from my dear son Will. He writes, "I know how you value the friendship between me and dear old Rhodes. For your comfort let me assure you that political

severance does not and will not impair my respect and affection for him." I thank God for these words.'

It was quite true that Rhodes for a while was 'shaken.' For days he remained at Groote Schuur, inaccessible and alone. Even the *New York World* failed, I fear, to raise a smile from him when it cabled to ask whether he had declared South Africa independent and, if so, why. But he replied gravely repudiating the charge. The *World* still 'wanted to know.' An enterprising modern journalist, thirsting for 'copy,' is not easily repulsed. Back came a demand to be informed of the exact position of affairs. To this Rhodes replied at some length, quoting the numbers of the new Transvaal population *largely composed of Americans*, their inability to obtain civil rights, their disgust at the threatened intervention of Germany. 'All my mine managers are Americans,' he added. As an appeal for sympathy the document is a clever one.

Rhodes also despatched a message, or perhaps a series of messages, to the Board of the Chartered Company, acknowledging to his colleagues what he would not acknowledge to the public, that 'Jameson had acted without instructions.' In other respects and to all other people he maintained a grim silence.

One of his secretaries writes to me, 'Although I was so intimately acquainted with him I never had the slightest suspicion of what was going on. No one in the office had any knowledge of the impending invasion of the Transvaal. I suppose he thought he had no right to implicate Government officials. After the Raid he remained in his bedroom for days. I used to take his letters there. I don't think he slept for five nights. "Tony" (his personal servant) said the "Baas" never

stopped walking up and down all night. He looked terribly worried.'

On the morning of 4th January Rhodes's body-servant came to me with a message that 'the master was calling' for me. I had hitherto respected his privacy, but now went over and had a long talk with him. At first he was quite unmanned and, without a word spoken, we held hands like two schoolboys. I was struck by his shattered appearance. After a while—never ceasing to walk the room like a caged lion—he poured out his soul and swept away many of the misconceptions which then and subsequently possessed the public mind. The idea, he said, was this.

First. The Raid was to be subsidiary to a rising within the Republic. If and when the latter occurred, the Chartered Company were to strike in *along with* other forces.

Second. The Republic was not to be overthrown. A Conference was to be called, the High Commissioner to be convener. The independence of the Boers was to be guaranteed in return for redress of grievances.

Third. A Customs Union: equalisation of railway rates: a common Court of Appeal: leading on to ultimate Federation.

Fourth. Zululand to be annexed to Natal and Basutoland to the Free State, provided recognition of British Supremacy was frankly accepted. Result—a Federal Union under the Crown, powerful enough to say 'Hands off' to Germany.

This great conception, he said, had been marred by the precipitancy of the Raid, the unpreparedness of the Rand and the timidity of Hofmeyr when the crisis came.

Reverting to the litter of telegrams on the floor, he stated that he had not replied to any of them. I reminded him that he was still Prime Minister, that policy required them to be acknowledged, and that I was ready to send 'safe' replies to every one of them. 'Read them,' he replied, 'and then you will understand.' I waded through them and saw his difficulty. A majority were from Dutch supporters asserting their personal regard and continued political support, conditionally on his public disavowal of Jameson. 'You see my point,' he said, 'and why there can be no reply.'

On 7th January Rhodes wrote to me in pencil (letter undated), requesting me to come over to him again. He was recovering his balance, but disliked the intrusion of visitors, so we left the house by a side door and took refuge in a shady recess, where he went fully into his plans and prospects. Even here we were followed by a man to whom Rhodes was about to speak sharply, when I persuaded him to be silent. The visitor—a market-gardener—came forward somewhat timidly and laid on the bench a basket of flowers. 'It 's all I 've got,' he said, and was gone. Rhodes was much affected.

It goes without saying that the world did not take the silence of Rhodes in good part. Journalists are not the only people eager for the latest news. The public, uninformed and therefore apt to be censorious, demanded of the hermit of Groote Schuur that he should emerge from his cell. But in his more spacious days he never wore his heart upon his sleeve, and now, in dishonour and despair, he looked stonily upon a garrulous universe, vocal with anger. A thousand speculative and contradictory explanations of his

attitude were given. His reticence was attributed to wounded pride, to callous indifference, and to conscious guilt. But, Gallio-like, he cared for none of these things. He stood in the position of an accused man, and while the case was *sub judice* he would not speak. In these days of unrestrained publicity this was regarded as intolerable, and many of his fair-weather friends discovered that their idol had feet of clay. A dumb oracle was felt to be insufferable, and Rhodes was insistently called upon to draw aside the veil and reveal the springs of action underlying recent events.

It is clear now that he deliberately chose the line of policy most difficult in itself, but least compromising to his associates. The Right Hon. James Bryce, writing to him, helpfully, from London on 10th January, advised him not to attach too much importance to attacks which political and personal adversaries could not be expected to lose the opportunity of making.

He himself was under no illusion. He recognised that the Raid was a reversion to the mediæval right of private war, and as such, indefensible; and that an attack on the Transvaal, apparently under his general authority, even if not on his specific order, was an event carrying with it swift and terrible retribution. Smitten with blindness, like a modern Samson he had essayed to pull down the pillars of an oppressive commonwealth, and, having failed, he must abide the result, or, in his own words, 'face the music.' He had not ordered the assault, but cognisant of the preparations, he must have known all along that his hand was liable to be forced. His precautions were not in themselves unwise, because trouble was inevitable, but in being clandestine they became impolitic. Had he acted throughout on higher authority he would

have stood on firmer ground. Had he pressed for preliminary preparations, threatening resignation in case of refusal, he might have obtained sanction for steps which, without such sanction, were patently irregular. Without publicity, an admirably equipped and mobile force had been concentrated within striking distance of the disturbed area. Had refusal to grant reform led to actual revolt, had Johannesburg been in danger of vindictive punishment, Her Majesty's Government would have possessed an advance guard on the Border capable of rendering excellent service pending the arrival of regular troops. As an auxiliary corps the force at Pitsani had immense value: as an instrument for overthrowing the Republic of itself, it was a negligible quantity.

On 10th January Rhodes left for Kimberley, where he arrived two days later, receiving an enthusiastic reception at the railway station from the entire population. In response to calls for a speech, he told the crowd that he thanked them from the bottom of his heart for so kindly a welcome. 'In times of adversity,' he said, 'people come to know who are their real friends, and I am proud to see that at this crisis I can count on so many trustworthy friends on the Diamond Fields. There is an idea abroad that my public career has come to an end. On the contrary, I think it is just beginning, and I have a firm belief that I shall live to do useful work for this country.'

After attending to necessary business he left at once for Cape Town, he and his friend Beit sailing for England in the *Moor* on 15th January, and landing on 4th February. His stay was a very brief one, but during that period the Chartered Board, at whose urgent request he had come over, met *de die in diem*, and on

6th February he visited Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Office and remained two hours. The *Times* declared his return to England would be generally recognised as the right course to pursue, and in its issue of 10th February it added :—

'It is difficult to conceive that for the next four or five years Mr. Rhodes could be more profitably occupied than in the assiduous and legitimate development of this province (Rhodesia). By the realisation of his views concerning it he will strengthen every tie which binds together Great Britain and South Africa. He will assist in a manner to which his genius is peculiarly adapted in the development of British influence in South Africa. He will at the same time cause South African influence every day to acquire more importance in Great Britain. Gradually, by the safe channels of successful industry and commercial intercourse, he may look forward to cementing a union of which his own view has always been that it should be based on an elevated conception of mutual interests, and in the pursuit of this object by the means to which he proposes to devote himself his energy may be safely put forward to its full extent.

'The most sensitive of foreign neighbours cannot deny our right to develop the great British sphere won for the nation chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Rhodes; the least reasonable can hardly fail upon reflection to perceive that, subject to the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, and to such restrictions in respect of military and police authority as it may be thought proper to impose, the first duty which Mr. Rhodes now owes to his countrymen is to redeem the late disaster in South Africa by devoting his best efforts to the realisation of a peaceful and substantial British success.'

Meanwhile, a Dutch supporter, writing to him on 25th January, says, 'On arriving at Groote Schuur I was amazed to find you gone. Feeling is calming down, and Kruger's demand to be free of the Suzerainty has caused a revulsion. Only to-day, at the Paarl Show, leading men declared that it could not be tolerated.'

During the excitement of the moment, enemies of Rhodes, both in and outside of Parliament, did not fail to seek to improve the occasion by demanding the revocation of the Charter, but the Directors of the Company, conscious of their innocence, were undisturbed by the clamour, and at their meeting on 5th February they passed a Resolution to proceed at once with an extension of the Beira Railway from Chimoio to Umtali.

The British press had hardly grasped the fact of Rhodes's arrival before he was gone again. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* said, 'He has faced the music of his directors and of Mr. Chamberlain to whom he is responsible, and having done that, there was no need for more. He has done the business that brought him here, and has gone back to go on with his work in Charterland.'

Another London paper affords the details. 'Mr. Rhodes,' it says, 'left London early on the 10th inst. for the Continent, embarking at Naples on the 13th idem by the German boat *Kanzler*, which is due to arrive at Beira on March 16th. He is *en route* to Rhodesia, but will return in time for the trial of Dr. Jameson should his presence be required.'

As a matter of record Rhodes arrived at Beira on 20th March, and after a long interview with the Portuguese Governor there, he proceeded to Umtali, where for the present I must leave him.

The High Commissioner remained in Pretoria until by diplomatic action, marked by consummate ability, he secured the release of Dr. Jameson and his officers who were surrendered to Her Majesty's Government for trial in England, escorted to the Natal border, taken thence to Durban, and sent home by the East Coast route in the troopship *Victoria*.

It is to the honour of the President that he dealt thus leniently with the Raiders, especially as, in doing so, he ran counter to his own Boer stalwarts, who clamoured for the death penalty. But, with all his limitations, Kruger was a strong man. With the four leaders of the Reform movement, and also with the Committee as a whole, he dealt with far greater severity. Colonel Frank Rhodes, Mr. Hays Hammond, Mr. Lionel Phillips and Mr.—now Sir George—Farrar were all sentenced to death, but eventually, owing to a well-organised agitation on the part of practically all South Africa, escaped with a fine of £25,000 each, while subordinate members of the ill-starred committee had to pay £2000 apiece. Out of his own pocket, as the first fruits of the Raid, Rhodes paid £62,000 towards these penalties.

On 16th January Sir Hercules Robinson was back in Cape Town, having performed a conspicuous public service in masterly fashion. His return, he cabled to the Secretary of State, was due to his presence being urgently needed on account of a change of Ministry.

On 31st January Lord Loch wrote to me, 'The shortcomings of the Government of the Republic made the Raid a possibility, but do not justify it. . . . In one way what has happened has done good, for the Continental Powers now know that we would go to war if they interfered in South African questions. We have

never stated this more distinctly, and it is now fully understood.'

Jameson's preliminary examination before Sir John Bridge commenced on the 10th March and lingered on until 18th June, when he was committed for trial. The trial took place on the 20th October, and ended a week later in a sentence of fifteen months' imprisonment. Owing to continued ill-health, Jameson was released in December, went abroad and vanished from South African history until 1898, but by no means for ever. Like that of Rhodes, his career was only beginning.

In March the general manager of De Beers Mines at Kimberley and a subordinate agent of the company at Cape Town were tried in the Cape courts for causing arms and ammunition to be moved without a licence, and were fined for the offence.

In view of the approaching opening of the Cape Parliament on 30th April, fresh attempts were now made to induce Rhodes to return to politics. Among the appeals thus made to him, one influential telegram ran as follows: 'We unanimously think it is of utmost importance, and necessary to your interests as well as the whole of South Africa, that you should be present at the opening of Parliament or as soon as possible after. If you be present you can rely on support of all your friends, as well as a large number of waverers, and those at present unfavourably disposed to you. Sprigg and Upington both urge this, and say you must not allow Mashonaland troubles to interfere, and if you do not come even friends will feel it is of no use fighting any more, and your opponents will say you fear meeting Parliament. A large number of Dutch say if you return you can rely on their support notwithstanding all that has been done, and you will be sure

to have a majority. J. H. Hofmeyr fears if you return many of his party will leave him and follow you. D. C. de Waal and your friends cannot too strongly urge you to come. Only your opponents hope you may not.'

The date of this message is 8th April. But by this time Rhodes had a sterner struggle on his hands. Even in February, before his arrival at Salisbury, there were mutterings of a coming storm. One of the most experienced native commissioners reported that the proceedings of the U'mlimo—the Makalaka witch-doctor—presaged revolt. Early in March rinderpest swept through Rhodesia and disturbed the minds of the natives, who at the same time heard very exaggerated accounts that the Raid had wiped out the white man.

Rhodes was at Salisbury and exerting all his powers to help his territory along the path of peaceful progress, when on Sunday, 22nd March, he heard of the murder of a native policeman and of other outrages by the Matabele in the Filabusi and Insiza districts. Shortly afterwards Selous and his wife, living quietly at Essex Vale, were driven to take refuge in Bulawayo and their cherished homestead went up in flames. Parties of the Matabele now occupied the rocky fortresses so numerous among the Matopo Hills. It was clear that a crisis was impending, and Rhodes, with all his customary energy restored to him, took immediate measures to protect his settlers. Excellent accounts of the war were subsequently written by Lieutenant-Colonel Baden-Powell and Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Plumer. Here it can only be lightly touched upon.

Within ten days of the receipt of the news of the revolt, Rhodes was on the march from Salisbury. Telegraphing on 31st March to the Hon. Maurice

Gifford at Bulawayo, he says, 'I 'm off to Gwelo with 150 men—100 mounted. I have news that 140 of Jameson's police will arrive 2nd April from England and will rejoin.' The reply he received was a curt one, 'Much more serious than you think. To go into Matopos with less than 500 is madness.'

On 11th May a force under Colonel Napier left Bulawayo to meet him, and the columns joined forces on 20th May. With Rhodes were Colonel Beal—hitherto besieged in Gwelo—Sir Charles Metcalfe and other well-known Rhodesians. With Napier were Arthur Rhodes, Spreckley, Molyneux, Wrey, Burnham the Scout, and Father Barthelemy, a devoted Catholic priest for whom Rhodes had a high regard. It is noticeable that a Dutch contingent under Van Rensburg and Van Niekerk were with the Bulawayo column and performed splendid service.

An eye-witness says, 'I thought Rhodes looked well, but his hair is turning grey and the strong face tells a tale of excessive mental strain. There was severe fighting all along the route.' The combined column reached Bulawayo on the 31st May, and shortly afterwards Sir Frederick Carrington arrived with some Regular troops and assumed the command.

The position was aggravated in June by the Mashonas unexpectedly joining their hereditary foes, the Matabele: fighting was furious over a wide area, and Rhodes was often under fire. Negotiations for peace began in July, but it was not until late in October that the troops were disbanded after nearly eight months' active service, and even then it was the diplomacy of Rhodes that brought the war to a close.

I shall now let him speak for himself. At Bulawayo, shortly after his arrival, he was called upon to speak at

a public meeting. After expressing his heartfelt sympathy with the settlers and his confidence in Carrington, he outlined his policy for the future, and added, 'It is a wonder to me how we have got through our difficulties as we have. Nearly everything has had to be carried six hundred miles. Providence sent rinderpest among our cattle, and horse-sickness continually kills our horses. But do you know they do without horses in Egypt? They have, however, excellent donkeys, and when recently there, I arranged for a monthly shipment of them to Beira. . . . Now, gentlemen, I observe that all the neighbouring States are discussing and settling your future for you: they have forgotten that you must have a voice in it. If I am allowed to remain and work with you, I look for the Charter to ultimately lapse and for you to become a self-governing body. I see clearly that you will become another State in South Africa. You have only to look at the map. . . . I wish to clear away the idea that because one's situation changes, one's policy changes. My policy will never change. I should be a very small man if I altered, through recent troubles, the ideas of a lifetime. I hope you will prepare your minds for some mode of self-government as the means of making you one of the States of South Africa, that the end of our efforts shall be South African Federation.'

This is the old Rhodes—not casting backward glances, not crying over spilt milk, but looking forward in high hope and with steadfast faith. Later on in the campaign, when the war was practically over and he was about to leave Bulawayo, he spoke again and said, 'You have done me the honour of calling this country by my name. My return for that will be to make the country as great as I can. We must develop the State,

not on lines of antagonism to the rest of South Africa, but in perfect harmony with our neighbours.'

On a third occasion, he is reported as saying, 'I have been a happier man since I have been among you. The great secret of life is work.'

Now that hostilities had ceased, it became the duty of Rhodes to proceed to England and appear before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. The question for the moment was by what route to travel. Against the Cape Town route was the fact that many of his old associates in and out of Parliament were now hostile, and he expected that his reception would be a mixed one, and might embarrass the Cape Government. Against the Eastern route, its adoption might have been taken to mean that he dared not face his foes. He decided for the bolder course.

Before, however, I describe his journey south, I must quote a few extracts from personal reminiscences on the part of some of his comrades during the Matabele War. This is what one of them says, 'On his arrival at Bulawayo he telegraphed to me to leave the Cape Civil Service and join him as private secretary. I went up in August and found him very busy with his peace negotiations in the Matopos, where I arrived shortly after the now historical indaba, the first of a series. No settlement was arrived at, and the natives returned to the hills. During the interviews he seemed to be entirely without fear. Colonel Plumer was there with 800 men, but Rhodes insisted on pitching his camp about two miles from the troops, between them and the enemy. I thought it a very risky thing. He sometimes had General Carrington, Earl Grey and Sir Richard Martin (the new British Resident) in his camp, and if the natives had attacked any dark night,

they could have assegaied the leading men of the country. His idea was to terminate the war at the earliest possible moment, as the expenditure of the Chartered Company was very heavy. The Matopos are seventy miles long and thirty broad. The Matabele seldom made a stand, but the troops could do no more than drive them out of the caves and kopjes at heavy sacrifice. The next day the enemy were back again. Mr. Rhodes grasped the situation. He was convinced that the only thing to be done was to get the chiefs to come out of the hills to see him and come to terms. It took him six weeks before the first chief would come from his stronghold. Old Babyan was the first to come. He was very nervous the first night, but Mr. Rhodes gave him food and blankets and made him feel at home. In a few days Babyan looked well-pleased with himself. He seemed greatly to appreciate the attentions paid to him. He ate, drank, and slept well, and frequently remarked that this new life suited him admirably, and that it was a great contrast to the one he had led in the hills. There, he stated, when he felt cold in the early morning and longed to pull his blanket round him, he had to get up and spy from his hiding-place to find out whether the British indunas were not marching on him. Here in the camp it was different. He could sleep till the sun was high and till his food was brought to him.

'And so it came about that Babyan at last consented to send for his indunas to come out of their fastnesses to see the white man. They came, and by degrees other chiefs were persuaded to come also. After many weeks, they had all been to the camp. A big indaba was then arranged, at which all were present. Several head of cattle and sheep were killed

for the occasion. Two or three meetings were held, and eventually peace was concluded.

'We spent in all about two months in the Matopos, and during that time I marvelled at Mr. Rhodes's patience. The native mind moves slowly, and even when the chiefs had grasped a simple fact they always returned to their people in the hills, where they would sit round their fires and repeat and repeat what they had heard at the white man's camp till everybody understood the position. The chiefs would then take their own time about returning to camp. They had no conception of the value of time, and three or four days, or even a week, made no difference to them. In the meanwhile Mr. Rhodes would anxiously await their return to know how the men of each particular chief took his messages. This was the principal reason why the negotiations were so protracted. From the time that Babyan first came to the camp Mr. Rhodes spent hours and hours every day talking to him, and afterwards to the other chiefs as they came, preparatory to the big indabas when all would be present. It was a very hot time of the year—just before the rains commenced—but Mr. Rhodes never heeded the heat. He used to sit day after day in the blazing sun talking to the chiefs and cracking jokes with them until we were all tired to death of them. But his patience and perseverance gained the day. He inspired the chiefs with confidence, and eventually he was able to conclude the much-desired peace.

'Mr. Rhodes's physical strength and powers of endurance were phenomenal at this time. Sometimes his morning ride would extend from 5 A.M. to 12 noon, but he usually returned between 10 and 11 o'clock, after having been five or six hours in the saddle. Some-

times I felt almost too tired to dismount, but Mr. Rhodes never seemed to feel the strain of a long ride in the least. He used to hurry through his breakfast, and then started talking to the chiefs right through the heat of the day till four in the afternoon, when the horses would be saddled again and he would ride till dusk. After dinner the chiefs would turn up again, and he would chat with them till late at night. Sometimes after an unusually long ride on a hot morning he would quietly rise from his chair at the breakfast table, throw himself down under the nearest tree on the bare ground, and fall asleep at once. He would sleep for about half an hour and then commence his chatting with the chiefs.

'I often think his work in the Matopos at this time was the greatest he ever achieved. I do not think any other man could have done what he did. The natives loved to chat with him, and although he was then bereft of all authority (having resigned as Director of the Chartered Company) he was looked upon by them as the head of the white men. It was a great pleasure to watch him whilst these informal indabas were going on. He would chaff and tease the chiefs, and sometimes one almost fancied he was one of them by the way he adapted himself to their customs. His face would beam all over when he thought he had the best of an argument and had them in a corner.

'We left the Matopos in October 1896, stayed a little while at Bulawayo, and then trekked to Salisbury by mule waggons. Mr. Rhodes was very fond of shooting and we had grand sport. Travelling about twenty-five miles a day, we generally started at daybreak, halted at about 10 or 10.30, had breakfast at 11 and rested till 2 P.M., when the waggons would be

inspanned again and the horses saddled for the evening trek. We did away entirely with the midday meal by having a late breakfast and an early dinner. We arrived at Salisbury at the end of November. There we found the people full of grievances. They asked for redress and assistance on every conceivable pretext. Mr. Rhodes felt sorry for them, as they had just gone through a very trying siege, and most of them had practically lost everything they possessed. We stayed at the Government Residency and for three weeks, from early morning till late in the afternoon, there was literally a string of applicants winding their way to the Residency and back. They all wanted something, and I do not think there was a single applicant for assistance who did not get something. My time was fully occupied in writing out cheques, and in a short time Mr. Rhodes had given away in charity a sum considerably exceeding £10,000. When remonstrated with by his friends, he always replied sympathetically, "These people have had a trying time, and I must encourage them so that they should not leave the country." '

Another comrade of Rhodes sends me the following: 'Save for a few minutes in Cape Town in 1895 I did not see him again after this visit till the middle of 1896. He had paid a short visit to England before the Jameson Raid, and on his way back *via* the East Coast he decided to interview the Sultan of Turkey for the purpose of getting some stud Angora goats from him, so as to endeavour to effect an improvement in the South African herds, which owing to inbreeding and neglect had deteriorated very greatly. His friends laughed at him, and said he could not possibly succeed; they even said, "You will not as much as be granted an inter-

view." "Well," he replied, "I shall try, and if I fail it will be some satisfaction to know I have made the attempt."

'The services of Sir Philip Currie, as he then was, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, were enlisted on his behalf, and to his delight an interview was arranged for the following morning. About 10 A.M. next day he turned up at the Palace in his ordinary garb—a suit of flannel—and was met there by the Ambassador, whose face fell very much on seeing his costume. "Good gracious," he said, "you can't go and see the Sultan like that; you must go and get your frock coat." "That is impossible," replied Mr. Rhodes, "for I don't possess one." In the end a compromise was effected by his taking off his flannel jacket and squeezing into the Ambassador's overcoat, which was much too small for him. He met the Sultan, who was much taken with him, and agreed to let him have a considerable number of his Angoras, the benefit of which South Africa is reaping to-day.

'During the war he was present at several engagements—at Thaba Zamamba, Kantora, and various other fights in the Matopos. When the rebels had been finally driven to the hills he said that in fighting there, though we might be victorious, the system which they had adopted made our losses heavier as a rule than theirs, so he suggested to Major-General Carrington that he should consent to his asking the leading chiefs to confer with him. At first Carrington opposed the idea, but eventually agreed, and about the 7th August 1896, Mr. Rhodes left Bulawayo for this purpose. His party travelled to Umlugulu and camped about a mile from Colonel Plumer's fighting column. At once Mr. Rhodes set to work. Three or four well-known natives

who had remained loyal undertook to carry a message to the chiefs, and early one morning they were sent off. Part of the way they were accompanied by Mr. J. C. Richardson, who was attached as interpreter to Plumer's column, and there is no doubt that it was largely owing to his support that they carried their undertaking through. That they were doubtful as to their reception is certain, but his presence with them till they had reached a deserted kraal, where a very old woman had been left to tell them that the chiefs would receive the message, provided no white man accompanied them, prevented them from turning back. The rebels were of course aware of the start of the native delegates as soon as they set out from our camp, owing to the well-known system of signalling which they possess.

'Mr. Richardson returned late on the night of the day the four boys were sent off, and he told us about the old woman and of certain bits of white cloth which had been tied to trees, so we all felt very hopeful as to the result, but we realised that two to four days must elapse before our messengers could return, and Mr. Rhodes at once said we must not pass the time idly, and suggested we should form shooting parties, and so show the rebellious natives that we stood in no awe of them.

'On the fourth day our messengers arrived, and said a few of the older chiefs would see Mr. Rhodes, but that there were not to be more than four all told from our party, so it came to a question of deciding who should go, and in the end Dr. Sauer was chosen, and a newspaper correspondent from Plumer's column—Mr. V. Stent. Early next morning they were off, Mr. Grimmer and I going a few miles with them and then

waiting about half a mile from the spot arranged for what is known as the first indaba. After some three hours the party returned and informed us that peace was in sight, as the chiefs had promised to call a big meeting of all the others not present for that day week, at a point some twenty-five miles further west in the hills. We at once set to work packing up, and trekked off next morning to fix our camp at the new place and be all ready by the day appointed. Colonel Plumer and his column followed us about a day later, Mr. Rhodes insisting that no troops should come nearer our camp than two miles, as he wished to show the rebels he had full confidence in their word that until they had discussed matters fully at the second indaba there would be no further fighting. It had been arranged that seven of us might attend this meeting, but that all of us should be unarmed, and this condition was agreed to on the understanding that the rebels should also carry no weapons.

'On the day appointed we set off, being accompanied by Mrs. Colenbrander and her sister, all of us being well mounted on horseback. The spot fixed was some two miles from our camp and about four from the fighting column. About fifteen to twenty natives were visible when we arrived, but suddenly some 400 to 500, armed to the teeth, came out of the bush and surrounded us. "Keep on your horses," shouted Mr. Colenbrander, and we all did save Mr. Rhodes, who dismounted and walked right up to the rebels, despite Colenbrander's entreaties, and began upbraiding them in no measured terms regarding their broken promise as to coming unarmed. "How can I trust you?" he questioned. "You asked us to carry no guns and stated you would not, and what do I find? Until you

lay them down, every one of you, I will not discuss a single point with you."

'This led to much muttering among the "amajacas" (fighters), and they all looked very sulky. Calling up three or four of the older chiefs, Mr. Rhodes said, "Why do you permit this? These young men are out of hand; you cannot control them, and yet you call yourselves their indunas." "Alas," they replied, "they *are* out of hand, but the young men of to-day are no longer to be controlled as they were when Lo Bengula was alive; they are too much for us." "Do not allow your authority to be set aside in such a fashion," said Mr. Rhodes, "I will stand by you. Order these amajacas to put down their guns at once, else we shall go back and the war will begin again." Somewhat heartened, the chiefs went in among the impi while Rhodes walked up to a stone in the midst of them and sat down on it. The rest of us remained on our horses, thunderstruck at his actions and conversation, which was carried on in Matabele without the aid of an interpreter. In ten minutes or so, loud shouts of Inkosi (Master, Chief) went up, and all the arms were laid down. Dismounting, we others gathered round him, and he then asked Colenbrander to tell them that as the indaba was an important one, and as he spoke their language far from well, he would speak to them through him.

'Beginning, he said: "I have come to ask you what you are fighting for, and if you have any real grievances I will try to put matters right for you; but before I listen to what you have to say I must say to you that, while I do not blame you for fighting if your complaints have not been listened to, I tell you most emphatically that I look on all of you as wolves, if

you have killed women and children. Many such have been killed—or murdered, rather. Now, if any of you here have had a hand in such work, leave this conference, for I wish to talk to men, not murderers."

'"Inkosi," they shouted, "it is well said, but there are no such dogs here, so let us talk." A fine-looking chief, named Umlevu, to whom we all took a fancy, was loudest in his protestations. "Be quite sure," said Mr. Rhodes, "for the Great Queen will never rest until all murderers have been tried and hanged." "It is only what such curs deserve," was the reply.

'For the next three hours the chiefs poured out all their troubles, some of which Mr. Rhodes saw were genuine and promised to rectify. Others, he pointed out to them, were the result of their own folly. In the end a perfect understanding was arrived at, but before getting up Mr. Rhodes said to the chiefs. "Are you all here, all the chiefs of the Matabele?" They looked much upset at this question, then one of them came forward and said, "No, Helae and Mapisa would not agree to come and meet you; they still want to fight." "Where do they live?" said Mr. Rhodes, and on being told it was some eighteen miles further in the hills, he said, "Well, tell them I shall go to the door of their kraals and stay there till they come out." Helae and Mapisa, it may be mentioned, controlled a very large number of Matabele, and had much influence.

'"And now," he said, "is it peace?" "Yebo, Inkosi" (Yes, Master), "it is peace. We look at you now with white eyes. Hail, Lamula'mkunzi (separator of the Fighting Bulls), Lamula'mkunzi, Lamula-'mkunzi," shouted the impi, and the hills re-echoed the name given him by the natives, who were now over-

joyed at the end of the war, but who a few minutes before were full of bitterness.

'The old chiefs approached him again. "We shall call you always Lamula'mkunzi," they said. (And they did till he died, and he is still spoken of by that name.) "But now that we have no longer Lo Bengula, you are our father, our friend and protector, and to you we shall look in the years that are coming." "It is well," he replied, "you are my children, and I will see to your welfare in future."

'Turning to the impi, the old men called, "Lamula-'mkunzi, our father, says he will protect us and give us his counsel always. He is our father and our chief." The impi, with wild shouts of Baba (father), Inkosi, Lamula'mkunzi, sprang forward and rushed among us, shouting and laughing and dancing and begging, all of them, for salt and tobacco, their arms and grievances forgotten together. We gave them what tobacco we had, and asked some twenty of them to come to our camp for salt, etc., including Umlevu, already referred to, and Babyan, one of Lo Bengula's chief councillors, who had visited the Queen in 1889, and who was held in great repute by the Matabele.

'The return to our camp was in the nature of a triumphal march. Though we only asked some twenty of the impi to come with us, at least fifty came, all of them singing and shouting the most lavish praise of us and eulogising Mr. Rhodes in unmeasured terms. After reaching our waggons they were liberally supplied with food and given as much salt and tobacco as we could spare, and all of them left full of protestations of loyalty. Next morning we broke camp and trekked towards the strongholds of the two chiefs who had refused to come to the indaba—Helae and Mapisa.

'It took us three days' travelling to reach our objective, and Mr. Rhodes was full of hope that in a week the two recalcitrant chiefs would hand in their submission. Colonel Plumer's column followed, but was not allowed nearer than four miles, this being arranged so as to give confidence to the Matabele, many of whom were constantly coming to see their "Father." To a message sent them, the two chiefs vouchsafed no reply, so Mr. Rhodes said, "Very well, we will sit here till they come out and seek us. It will not be long." But it was not for six weeks (9th October 1896), and those who know the impatient nature of Mr. Rhodes would have marvelled at his persistency. Nothing seemed to trouble him save the one thing, the conquering of these two men. Many people urged him to give the matter up and leave one of his lieutenants to deal with it, but he would not. He had, he said, stated he would end the rebellion, and till these chiefs had submitted, the embers were still there.

'One morning, in company with Earl Grey and Mr. George Wyndham, he went out riding, and when they came back about one o'clock, he was full of a discovery he had made. "We found a hill in the Matopos," he said, "from which a perfectly wonderful view can be obtained. It may be considered one of the Views of the World. We must have a road made to it later on." He talked of little else that night at dinner, and got both Lord Grey and Mr. Wyndham to describe it to us.

'Riding in another direction one morning, he found an ideal spot for conserving a large quantity of water, with some wonderfully rich soil underneath it. "Providence," he said, "left this gap in the hills at this point for a purpose, and we must respond. Get a

good engineer and arrange for him to prepare surveys for a dam and furnish us with an estimate of the cost." Matters were put in hand, and before he died the dam was finished at a cost of thirty thousand pounds. When full it contains 987 million gallons of water, and is capable of irrigating a thousand acres of land which lies below its outlet.

'Having made up his mind to build the dam, Mr. Rhodes at once set to work and arranged all about clearing the land which it would dominate of stones and bush, and everything was planned out for the work to be commenced immediately after the chiefs gave in. Meanwhile, a man was sent to the Cape to buy machinery, implements, etc. Though apparently taking a long rest, Mr. Rhodes was really working quite hard, for his mind had to be occupied, and he threw himself into all such matters in his usual strenuous way.

'Babyan, who had come along with us, was one day called up after we had waited for the two chiefs some three weeks, and it was suggested to him that he should go and interview them on our behalf. But he was too well content. "Why," said he, "it is better that I should remain where I am, for they will hear that Babyan is at the camp of Lamula'mkunzi, and they will say, 'He is the cunning one; the war is over and he stays there to get fat; we had better go and join him.' If I were to go to them now, I am still thin from being chased like a baboon by your troops, they would say, 'We hear you are at the camp of Lamula'mkunzi but he is not feeding you surely—you are very thin.' Believe me, it is better for me to remain here." And so the old schemer stayed. He amused us frequently during the evenings by telling us of his adventures in England when he went on his mission to Queen Victoria, and

showed us a fine gold bangle with the inscription "To Babyan from the Queen." engraved on it.

'The days went on and still no signs of yielding on the part of the rebels; they would receive no one, and though they did not seek to molest us when we were out shooting, they looked out at us from their kraals in a very sulky fashion. A missionary, the Rev. D. Carnegie, came from his station some considerable distance south of Bulawayo and offered his services, and though he made a plucky journey into the hills it brought us no nearer to a solution. Still Mr. Rhodes never wavered, and taught all of us a lesson never to be forgotten. One day his private secretary arrived from Cape Town with a huge basket of correspondence, but he declined to deal with it until he had gained his point. Sir Charles Metcalfe, to our surprise, rode into our camp one morning, having ridden across country some hundred odd miles all alone. Mr. Rhodes was delighted. "The natives never gave you any trouble?" he asked. "Not a bit," replied Metcalfe, "they were most friendly." "I knew it," said Mr. Rhodes. It was indeed wonderful that from the hour peace was declared, never another shot was fired by the Matabele —their word was indeed their bond.

'Day succeeded day, but still Helae and Mapisa were obdurate. No trace of impatience was, however, to be noted in Mr. Rhodes. The days were spent in all sorts of expeditions, and the evenings in discussing the development of Africa. One remark of his I remember, which might well be recorded, "You cannot have real prosperity in South Africa," he said, "until you have first established complete confidence between the two races, and henceforth I shall make that part of my work, but all must help, all must help."

'News of the outside world seldom reached us, and no one seemed to miss it. Some six weeks had elapsed since we came to the "doors" of the two rebel kraals, and all of us save Mr. Rhodes were much surprised when one evening just at dark a message came from the chiefs, carried by three of their councillors, to say they would come and talk to Mr. Rhodes shortly after sunrise the next day. "Get everything ready to move to Bulawayo by noon to-morrow," said Mr. Rhodes. "Why," said some one, "how do you know they will submit?" "How *did* I know, you mean," was the reply; "they have already submitted when their messengers are here."

'Next morning the two chiefs with their head-men turned up about 7 o'clock, and in two hours everything had been settled. Helae put his points clearly, and Mr. Rhodes dealt fully with them, and they parted in the most friendly manner, and sure enough we were on the way to Bulawayo at 12 o'clock, and next day Mr. Rhodes was trekking to Salisbury.

'On the way, the little village of Enkeldoorn was passed through, and he found the inhabitants living in laager, afraid to move outside. Asking the reason, he was told that a large body of Mashonas, who lived in a kraal some ten or twelve miles off, came out "sniping" daily and were strong enough to keep them in laager till they had some assistance. "Well," he said, "I 'll assist you. We must go and clear them out." He arranged the whole thing and personally led the party. (Three-fourths of the men only went, the others had to remain in laager in case of failure.) Accompanied by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Grimmer, he led the party from the laager at 3 A.M., surrounded the kraal as day broke, and called upon the rebels

to surrender. A volley from their rifles was their reply. Leading the men, he rushed the kraal, and after twenty minutes of hot fighting, put the natives to flight, and they troubled Enkeldoorn no more.

'When he left the Matopos for Salisbury, people said he was flinging the lives of himself and party away, but he replied that he was as safe as in Piccadilly and that he desired to show that the roads were quite safe and fit to reopen for mail service.

'It took him some sixteen days' travelling to reach Salisbury, where he was given a great reception. From there he went on to Umtali and paid a visit to Inyanga, regarding which he had heard a great deal, and was so struck with its possibilities for sheep raising that he purchased some 120,000 acres for the purpose of experimenting with sheep.'

Among the amusing incidents of the campaign this may be quoted. A detachment on patrol, with whom he was once travelling, was distracted by the rival claims of two officers of equal rank. Rhodes vainly tried to settle precedence, and failing, suggested that he should command as colonel. To this both of them agreed, and the press gave him the title, much to the disquietude of the High Commissioner, who was apparently nervous of resulting comment in England. The Administrator, Earl Grey, was under the necessity of sending the following message :—

'*From Earl Grey to High Commissioner.*

'Your Excellency's wire of May 11th. Rhodes accepted colonelcy because of friction between officers in charge of different columns, neither of whom would serve under the other, but both agreed to serve under Rhodes. If Rhodes had not taken post, column

would have separated. Private and confidential. Rhodes asks me to send you the following message. Begins, For the Secretary of State. Tell him there is no Colonel more unhappy than I am. Had to take the position to smooth over individual jealousies as to rank between the various officers, the result is I have to go out into the field and be fired at by horrid Matabeles with their elephant guns which make a fearful row. It is a new and most unpleasant sensation. Ends. The idea of Rhodes taking general command of police and military operations is of course absurd, he fully realises that Martin has the right to control movements of troops as Commandant-General.

(*Sd.*) 'J. N.
'for LORD GREY,
'13/5/96.'

It is said—but I have no evidence for the truth of the story—that, later on, a medal arrived for 'Colonel' Rhodes, but accompanied by a War Office inquiry for the date of his Commission, which could not be found on the records.

Here are a few more personal reminiscences from a friend :—

'Everybody who knew Cecil Rhodes in those days, will also remember his faithful Cape Boy "Tony," who went everywhere with him and was the best cook on the veld I ever saw. The moment the column halted and almost before the waggon was outspanned, Tony would have his fire lighted, and be hard at work preparing the next meal of the day.

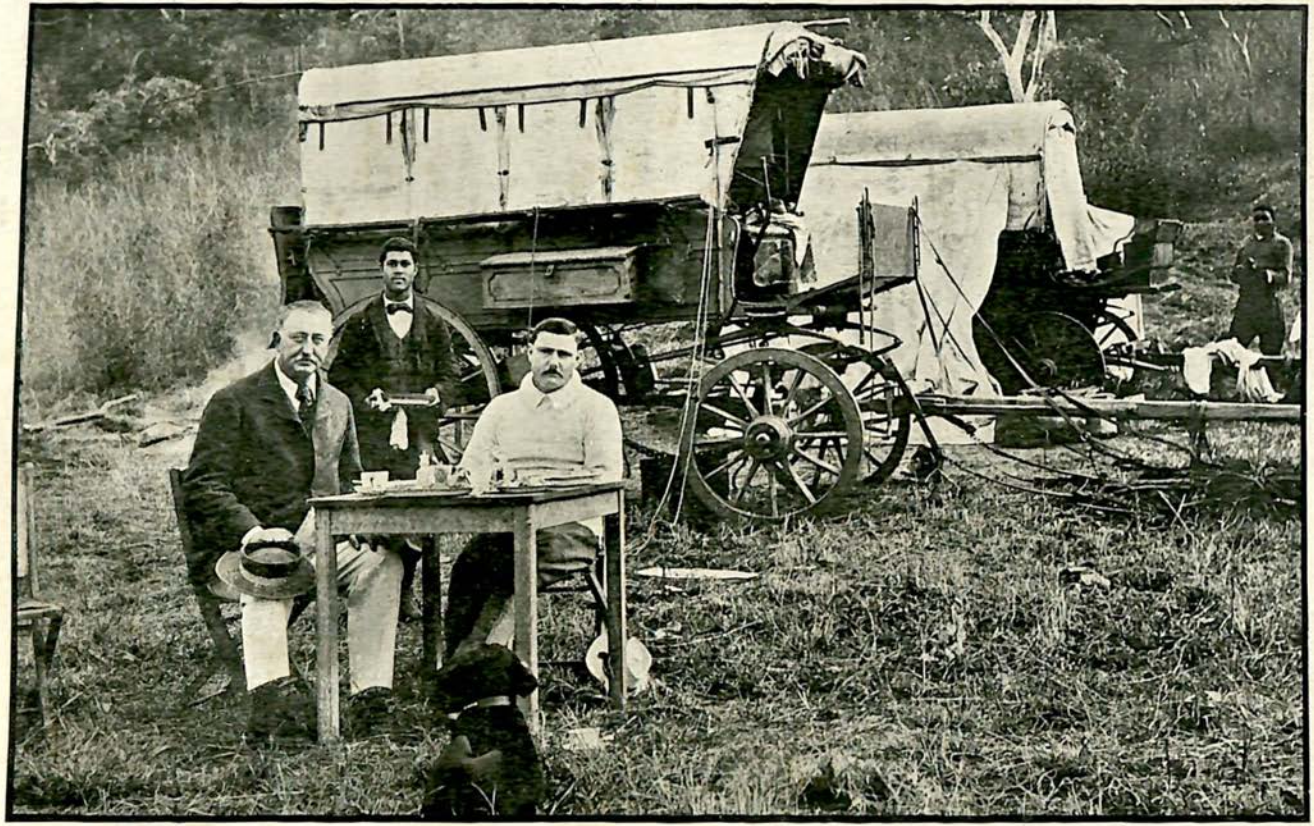
'Rhodes was fond of telling the story of how once when commanded to Sandringham he asked Tony when he called him in the morning what time breakfast

was. Tony replied, "Royalty doesn't breakfast, sir, but *you* can have it in the dining-room at half-past nine."

'On 24th June 1896, when on Macfarlane's Patrol, news reached Rhodes, through runners sent by Earl Grey, of the rising of the Mashonas, and he determined to get back to Bulawayo at once. We were by no means certain that there was not a large force of Matabele between us and that place, for although Colonel Plumer's Patrol down the Gwaai had been moving parallel with us, it was a wide extent of country to cover with a small force. We started off for our ride of sixty miles at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Rhodes, Metcalfe, Colonel Nicholson (7th Hussars), and myself with an escort of twenty men and of course Rhodes's small travelling waggon with the redoubtable Tony.

'Shortly before midnight we were approaching the Nyamondhlovo Kraals, and were very uncertain whether they had been cleared by Plumer. Hearing a number of dogs barking, we came to the conclusion that the Kafirs were "at home," for the Kafir dog, as a rule, is rather aggressive if his master is near, but slinks away into the bush if he is not. Nicholson and two men went forward to reconnoitre, and returned with the report that the kraals were occupied, and we had a short conversation as to how we should "rush" the place, Rhodes laying great stress upon the fact that a few men should be told off to remain with the waggon until we made it safe to proceed, "for," as he said, "at all costs Tony *must* be protected!"

'There was probably no man more misunderstood by a certain section of the British nation than Cecil Rhodes, and the following little anecdote should bring a blush of shame to the cheek of those who used to



From a photo. by Mrs. Bairnsfather.

ON TREK IN RHODESIA.

RHODES SITTING WITH HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, MR. GRIMMER. TONY THE COOK STANDING BEHIND.

argue that his one object was self, his one aim money-making, and his one ambition a United States of South Africa with himself as President.

'We had got into Bulawayo for a few days after the patrol with Macfarlane to the North, and the outbreak of the Mashonas, which had been unexpected, was naturally an additional weight on Rhodes's already burdened shoulders. We stayed, as before, at Government House, and early one morning Lord Grey relates how Rhodes came into his room before sunrise in order to congratulate him on his good luck in having been born an Englishman. He had been thinking out his own position during the night and could not wait even until sunrise to pass on to him the reasons why he should congratulate himself on having that good fortune. "Have you never realised," said Rhodes, "that you might have been a Chinaman, or a Hottentot, or that most degraded of men, a Mashona? But you are not, you are an Englishman, and have consequently drawn the *greatest* prize in the lottery of life. I always think of that when I am bothered, and it carries me through all my troubles—I am an Englishman. And by the way, Grey, how old are you?" "Forty-four," said Grey. "You 've no incurable disease, I believe?" said Rhodes. "No, thank God," said Grey. "Ah!" said Rhodes, "you 've arrived at the age of forty-four; you have no disease which as far as you know is certain to kill you, and you are an Englishman. Why! you have drawn *two* of the greatest prizes in the lottery of life!" There was no resisting the philosophic argument, and the consolation which he had felt after the night's reflection that, when everybody was throwing mud at him, he possessed one prize of which nobody could rob him.'

The prize of long life, however, was not to be his, and he was already aware of it.

'If there was one thing in the world Rhodes disliked more than another, it was the feeling of being cramped and confined, without "elbow-room," so to speak. He also hated many of the discomforts of a camp unless there was lots of room. Naturally, when on the march in a bush country in savage warfare, it was essential that the waggons should always be formed into a close laager, the horses being picketed inside, and the men detailed to each waggon in case of attack. Rhodes always resented having his little travelling waggon included as part of the laager and, if possible, selected a spot outside, between the laager itself and the line of outposts.

'Colonel Plumer had left Bulawayo on 29th June to attack a large force of Matabele reported to be at Thabas-a-Momba. Rhodes joined the column on 30th June, when camped close to Thaba Induna, and had his waggon outspanned some hundred yards or so outside the laager. On 1st July, after the early morning trek, Frank Rhodes and I went out to loot some kraals for grain for our horses, leaving Cecil lying down by his waggon reading a book. When we came back in the afternoon we found him much amused about something, and after a few minutes he said, "I wish you fellows had been here this afternoon, you would have been much amused. I was lying here reading when a trooper came across from the laager and said, 'Good-day.' 'Good-day,' said I. 'Have you got any fish?' said the man. I tumbled to the situation at once. 'No,' said I, 'I 'm sorry to say I 've got no fish.' 'Got no *fish*,' said he; 'have you got any *jam*?' 'No,' said I, 'I 'm sorry to say I 'm out of jam.' 'You 've

got no fish, and got no jam, what *have* you got?' said the man. 'You may well ask me that,' said I. 'I've got precious little left, and what I *have* got, they are all trying to take away from me as fast as they can.' 'I 'm sorry for that,' said the man. 'But (looking at some six or eight books lying on the ground), you 've got some books, I see, and (picking one up on Buddhism) pretty deep subjects too!' 'Well!' said I, 'I certainly do read a bit, that 's my recreation. You see, it 's pretty hard work selling fish and jam *all* day.' 'I should think it must be,' said the man. 'Well, I 'm sorry for you, for you 're a civil-spoken kind of chap, and I 'm still more sorry that you 've got no fish or jam, but it can't be helped—good-day.' 'Good-day,' said I, and he went back to the laager."

'We naturally laughed heartily over the incident, and wondered what the man's feelings would be when he saw Rhodes riding with Plumer the next morning at the head of the column and discovered that the man he had mistaken for a purveyor of tinned stores to the troops was the greatest Englishman of modern days.

'Three and a half years later, early one morning during the Boer War, in November 1899, I was out with the Scouts of my squadron in the direction of Bryce's store, between Tuli and the Limpopo River. We were waiting for daylight, and the men were discussing various incidents amongst themselves. The conversation turned upon the Siege of Kimberley, and the name of Cecil Rhodes was mentioned when one of the men, named Gooch, said, "I shall never forget in all my life the first time I saw Cecil Rhodes." "When was that?" said another. "Oh! you would none of you remember," said Gooch, "but you would, sir, (turning to me), for you were there. It was in the Matabele

War when Colonel Plumer was marching to Thabas-a-Momba, and I didn't know him by sight and he had got his waggon stuck outside the laager——" "Wait a minute, Gooch," said I, interrupting him, "I believe you are the very man I 've been looking for for three and a half years. *I 'll* finish the story, and you shall correct me if I am wrong." I thereupon told the other men the story of the fish and jam, Gooch looking more astonished every moment as I proceeded, and every now and then ejaculating, "That 's Gospel truth." *How* the other men laughed over it, and I only wish Rhodes had been there himself to renew his acquaintance with his would-be customer of former days.

'Rhodes was very fond of asking men to come and dine with us at the waggon when on the march or in camp, and there was rarely a night that we hadn't *one* guest, at all events, to share our frugal meal which the culinary art of Tony always made appetising.

'I well remember upon one occasion our guest for the evening being Father Barthelemy of the Jesuit Mission in Bulawayo, a man who had endeared himself to every one in the column by his self-sacrifice and devotion, always ready to lend a hand, as brave as a lion, and about the best parson I ever met.

'After dinner the conversation turned upon religion, and Rhodes astonished our Jesuit friend by describing to him in detail the course of probation he had been obliged to undergo for seventeen years before he could be thought worthy to be raised to the dignity of a "Father." "How is it, Mr. Rhodes," at last said Father Barthelemy, "that you know so much about us and our course of training?" "Well," said Rhodes, "I study all these questions, and I am not at all sure

that, if I was not what I am, I should not have been a Jesuit." "You say," said the Reverend Father, "if you were not what you are. What *are* you?" "Ah! there," said Rhodes, "you have asked me a very difficult question. Let us think it out." And then he began, as he was so fond of doing, to think out the whole problem aloud. "I suppose you would call me an Agnostic—Agnosco, I don't know. I believe in a future state, but what it is I don't know and what is more, *you* don't know. I have never found any one who could tell *me* what it is, and you have never found any one to tell *you*, but I believe that if one does one's best in this world according to one's lights, and does no harm intentionally to any one, I shall get as good a place in that future state as you will who make a profession of your religion." "That is the highest form of religion," said the Father. "Yes," said Rhodes, still following his train of thought, "in fact if I was to go before the Almighty to-morrow, and He was to tell me that He thought I had acted very badly at times and had wronged some people wittingly, say Kruger, for instance, well—I should be prepared to have it out with Him." "Upon my soul, Mr. Rhodes," was the reply, "I believe you would," and so the debate ended.

'On the 29th July we were camped in the Matopo Hills, and the news came out to us of the sentences of imprisonment which had been passed in England upon Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, and the other participants in the Jameson Raid. Rhodes sat silently thinking for a time, and then exclaimed, "A tribute to the upright rectitude of my countrymen who have jumped the whole world!" A characteristic summing-up of the position.

'For some weeks after that memorable day in August 1896 when Rhodes met Somabulana, Sekombo, 'Nyanda and the other native chiefs in the Matopo Hills and brought the rebellion to an end, he camped close to the hills without any escort or guard, in order that he might be easily accessible to any of them who desired to come and confer with him and restore confidence in British rule. The fact of his being unarmed soon proved to them that they had nothing to fear, and a day rarely passed without an informal "Indaba" taking place between the Great White Chief and his dusky "children," who in a very short time learned that all he desired was that they should once more return to their peaceful avocations, and let "bygones be bygones."

'There was, however, at this time in Matabeleland an official, who shall be nameless, who considered that Rhodes should have taken him into his confidence with regard to the terms he was making with the chiefs, and desired that arrangements should be made for a grand "Indaba" at which he should be present. The date was fixed, and the time arranged for the meeting. The chiefs, who were still somewhat suspicious of every white man except Rhodes himself, were lurking on the outskirts of the hills before coming to the rendezvous, when this great official was seen riding over the plain towards Rhodes's camp with an escort of twenty men armed to the teeth, and the Union Jack flying in the breeze.

'After exchanging greetings with Rhodes, the Union Jack was planted in the ground, and the great man sat down under its folds upon the only chair available, Rhodes sitting beside him on a biscuit box. Not a native arrived. After a time Rhodes looked up

at the flag and said to his visitor, "What 's this?" "The Union Jack," was the reply. "I 'm well aware of that," said Rhodes, "but what is it doing here?" "It is my symbol of authority," was the reply. "Well! do you expect the Kafirs to come?" said Rhodes. "I thought you had arranged for them to meet me here to-day," was the answer. "So I had," said Rhodes, "but I don't expect them to come when they are all watching from the hills and have seen you arrive with this flag and an armed escort. They will come and see *me*, but of course they will now expect they are summoned in order to be arrested and shot." The official looked rather foolish, and after waiting some time longer Rhodes impatiently said, "I think I had better go into the hills and tell them this is all nonsense, and that they are perfectly safe in coming." After some discussion, he was dissuaded from going himself, but a messenger was sent, and in a short time they came dropping in, evidently somewhat ill at ease, and sat down on their haunches in a semi-circle.

'Rhodes had been having some luncheon and threw them scraps of food as one would to a dog, and turning to the great official said, "You will think me a funny fellow. I *am* a funny fellow, but you must remember I *am* a Privy Councillor!" The official returned to Bulawayo a sadder and a wiser man.'

It was not until December that Rhodes was able to leave Rhodesia. It was on the 17th of that month that he and Sir Charles Metcalfe, travelling together, overtook Colonel Baden-Powell on the Revewe River. 'I am sorry,' he said to Baden-Powell, 'but I shall not be able to give you accommodation at Groote Schuur, it has been burnt to the ground. Providence has not been kind to me this year: what with Jameson's

Raid, rebellion, famine, rinderpest, and now my house burnt, I feel like Job, all but the boils.'

The little party went round to Durban in the *Pongola* and arrived at Port Elizabeth on 23rd December, all but Rhodes transhipping into the *Moor* and reaching Cape Town on 27th December. The reception of Rhodes at Port Elizabeth was enthusiastic. Deputations from all parts of the Eastern Province were there to meet him. The genuineness of the welcome pleased him greatly. A luncheon was given to him in the Feather Market, at which 500 delegates and leading townsmen were present. His absolutely impromptu speech ranged over a wide area and is far too long for insertion in extenso here. Quotations must suffice.

'If I may put to you a thought,' he said, 'it is that the man who is continuously prosperous does not know himself, his own mind or character. It is a good thing to have a period of adversity. You then find out who are your real friends. I will admit, Mr. Mayor, that I have had a troubled year. From those from whom I expected most I got least, but from many quarters—some the most remote—I received a kindly support I never anticipated. I am confident enough to say that I do not feel that my public career has closed. I am going home to meet a Committee of my own countrymen. As soon as they release me I am coming back. I shall keep my seat in the Cape House. You may tell me my faults, but until you turn me out, I mean to remain with you. I am determined still to strive for the closer union of South Africa. I only hope that in my future career you will recognise that I have never abandoned this programme.'

This was the speech that caused resentment in some

quarters in England by his gibe at what he called the unctuous rectitude of his countrymen.

On the conclusion of this speech, Rhodes, with characteristic energy, left by train for Kimberley where, on 28th December, he presided at the annual meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. It was a long and tedious land journey at the hottest time of the year, and it was a bold journey, for it took him through Dutch districts; but at every station English and Dutch 'Afrikanders' alike gathered to welcome him. In spite of his long absence from the mines, he made to his shareholders an able financial exposition of their affairs, and having done so he returned to the train and travelled another six hundred miles to Cape Town, and took up his residence among the blackened ruins of Groote Schuur, the destruction of which had been the crowning calamity to a year of unexampled misfortunes.

As he neared the capital and traversed the beautiful valley in which the Dutch for many generations have made their homes—a valley inhabited for the most part by members of the Afrikander Bond—it might well have been that he should receive a hostile reception from those who held—or were instructed by their leaders to hold—that he had betrayed them and their nationality. But to their eternal honour, they not only forgot but forgave. No amount of wire-pulling shook their belief that Rhodes, with all his faults, was a great man, and, at heart, one of themselves. At every halting place he was enthusiastically received, and even at the Paarl, Wellington and elsewhere Dutch addresses of welcome were read which deeply moved him, contrary to his wont. And thus the year closed, not inauspiciously, on the returned wanderer.

On his arrival, and when the published report appeared of his speech at Port Elizabeth, I was afraid the biting phrase—unctuous rectitude—would give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, and I suggested to him that the reporters were in error, and that the expression he used or meant to use was 'anxious rectitude.' But he would have none of it, remarking, 'I said it and I stick to it.' Indeed, the unco' guid, so ready to take a mote out of a brother's eye while oblivious of the beam in their own, were always an abomination to him. On various subsequent occasions he returned to the subject. Thus, in a letter dated 26th July 1897, he wrote to me from Bulawayo, 'I notice the Home Committee have made me the sacrificial lamb. I wonder whether the decay of our race will come through unctuous rectitude!'

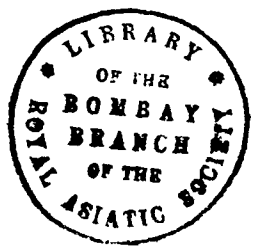
It has often been said and thought that Rhodes was a woman-hater, and it may be conceded that a really frivolous woman was distasteful to him; but a womanly woman and a woman of culture and ability were always sure of respect and friendship at his hands. During the trying months of the Matabele war he received many heartening letters from women of all ranks, and, contrary to his practice, he replied to them. Here is a charming answer to one of them, which I have been privileged to publish:—

'*June* 25/96, BULAWAYO, KING'S KRAAL.

'My DEAR DUCHESS,—I am just in from the West, on the Gwaai River; the natives bolted, so we had not much fighting. I find about 100 letters, I turn them over and find this one from you, and read it. It is dated March 11th. I am doing my best, and you need not fear that in my adversity I shall cave in. I must

do my duty. I wanted just to say to you one thing, now do not be annoyed. You always make me feel that you are my exact idea of an Englishwoman.—
Yours truly, C. J. RHODES.'

Before passing away from the painful subject of the Raid, I desire to make one closing remark. The idea prevalent in some quarters that the inception of the Raid is still wrapped in mystery is wholly erroneous. The vital facts are all in print, and there are no unrevealed secrets. The sooner this is recognised the better for the peace of South Africa.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CHAPTER XXXI

THE CAPE PARLIAMENT (1896)

Governor's speech—Merriman on the warpath—Governor's departure—Debate on the Raid—Select Committee—Debate on leave of absence—Schreiner defends—Report of Committee—Schreiner's great speech—Prorogation of Parliament.

On Thursday, 30th April, the Cape House of Assembly met to elect a new Speaker in the place of Sir David Tennant who had resigned. Its late leader, as I have already shown, was not there, having other than political battles to fight, nor did he attend during the session.

On the following day Parliament was opened with the customary formalities by Sir Hercules Robinson, who said, *inter alia*, 'I cannot refrain from referring to an event which has recently occurred which, although outside the limits of this Colony, was of the first magnitude as regards the interest it has excited and its far-reaching consequences throughout South Africa.

'An armed force from an adjoining Territory crossed the border and entered the South African Republic contrary to the rules of international law.

'Such entry, deeply deplored by every right-minded Colonist, has produced the most lamentable results.

'My advisers have entire confidence in Her Majesty's Government taking such steps as shall prevent the recurrence of a calamity which has stirred so deeply the sentiments of all people in South Africa and so

gravely endangered the friendly relationship between the British Colonies and the neighbouring States.

'My Ministers, while steadily recognising the advantage to South Africa of maintaining unimpaired the existing authority of the Crown, are directing their best efforts towards the promotion and maintenance of a cordial understanding with the neighbouring States and Colonies, and they trust the troubled state of affairs in the South African Republic, which necessarily agitates the people of this Colony, will, by the exercise of a wise spirit of moderation and conciliation on the part of all concerned, present before long a calmer aspect.'

The phraseology of the speech was cautious and correct, but its temperate warning must not be overlooked. The President still had three years in which to set his house in order, but his spirit, it is to be feared, was the spirit of Pharaoh who 'hardened his heart' against a similar admonition. There seems reason to believe that Mr. Hofmeyr and other prominent Cape Afrikanders repeatedly gave the President private advice to conciliate his new subjects, but they refrained from public warning, and their representations, therefore, went for nothing.

Later in the day Sir Gordon Sprigg announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had requested the Governor to proceed to England, which he proposed to do at an early date.

It was not to be expected that a powerful opposition would allow so magnificent an opportunity of damaging Rhodes to escape them. Accordingly at the next sitting of the House, on 4th May, Merriman gave notice of motion, 'That in the opinion of this House, the exercise of Sovereign rights by a trading and financial

Company such as the British South Africa Company is not consistent with the peace and prosperity of South Africa: that Her Majesty the Queen be requested by respectful address to take the matter into her gracious consideration, and by the revocation or alteration of the Charter granted to the said Company, to make such provision for the government of the Territories comprised therein as may to her seem desirable.'

Mr. Sauer also gave notice to move, 'That in the opinion of this House, the absence of His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor and High Commissioner, from South Africa at the present time is detrimental to the best interests of South Africa.'

On 5th May Mr. Hay, a private member, gave notice of an amendment to Merriman's Motion, an amendment framed in a more violent form and demanding a searching inquiry.

On 7th May Sauer announced that on second thoughts he desired to substitute for his Motion, one expressing the deep sense of the House of the great services of the Governor, deploring his approaching absence, and hoping for his speedy return. In its altered shape, the Motion, after debate, was carried without a division, Mr. Theron, on behalf of the Afrikander Bond, asserting that the Governor possessed the entire confidence of that body.

On 8th May Schreiner, as an amendment to Merriman's Motion, gave notice to move on 12th May to express regret at the Raid, and appoint a Select Committee of seven members to inquire into its origin and character.

On 12th May Innes moved a still further amendment, expressing an earnest hope that such steps would be taken in the South African Republic towards the

favourable consideration of any legitimate grievances of the population which had settled in that State from the Cape Colony and elsewhere, as might conduce to the peace, unity and welfare of South Africa.

The great debate on the Raid, originating in these various Motions, opened on 12th May with a powerful speech from Merriman, who admitted having, while sitting in the same Cabinet as Rhodes, given the Charter reasonable assistance and support, but added that recent events had opened his eyes to its danger. Schreiner followed on the lines of his amendment, and declared that he moved for a Committee because a full investigation was necessary before a just and final judgment on the subject could be given, and that, meanwhile, it was not the duty of the House to cry, 'Away with the Charter.'

On the following day Innes spoke at some length in support of his proposal to express a desire on the part of the House that Kruger would endeavour to content his large Uitlander population, and urged Dutch members never to forget, in their indignation at the Raid, that the causes which led to it still existed. Wise words, and well befitting the speaker whose judicial intellect now adorns the Transvaal Bench.

The discussion afterwards became general, the great bulk of members of both races feeling it incumbent on them not to give a silent vote. Rhodes, of course, was severely criticised, but found some staunch defenders, and many of the speeches against him were delivered more in sorrow than in anger. As a deliberative Assembly the Cape House, throughout its long and not undistinguished career, has ever exhibited an impartiality and sobriety of judgment which would be creditable to any Parliament in the world. Its char-

acter for fair play did not desert it on this unprecedented occasion. Feeling necessarily ran high and the wrong done to the Transvaal was common cause on both sides of the House, but a veteran member voiced the opinion of the majority when he exclaimed, 'We are told not to offend the Transvaal, but we must consider our own people. (Cheers.) The Uitlanders have grievances—(cheers)—and they ought to have been redressed before now.' (Renewed cheers.)

Mr. Holtzhausen, a Dutch member, declared that he did not believe it would be good for the country if 'Charterland' was taken over by the Imperial Government.

Mr. P. de Waal trusted the House would treat the Chartered Company leniently. Mr. Venter followed, and said Rhodes was his best friend, and there was no better statesman in the country, and it was necessary that Rhodesia should be left in the hands of the Charter.

Mr. D. C. de Waal thought that in the years to come the Cape Colony would find out what the Charter had done for South Africa. He did not regret having followed Mr. Rhodes.

Mr. van der Walt wound up by asserting that the spirit of the speeches of many Dutch members was one of latent confidence in Mr. Rhodes.

The great debate, after frequent adjournments, came to a close on 28th May, when Merriman's Motion was put and lost by sixty votes to eleven. Mr. Innes's various amendments were then put and rejected, and Schreiner's proposal was finally carried without a division, the feeling of the House being unmistakably in favour of suspending judgment pending the Report of a Select Committee.

The following day the Speaker announced that the Committee, as nominated by him, would consist of

Sir Thomas Upington, Attorney General (Chairman).
Mr. Schreiner.
Mr. Innes.
Mr. Merriman.
Mr. C. T. Jones.
Mr. T. E. Fuller.
Mr. Du Toit.

As the Chairman, Schreiner and Innes were all trained lawyers, an investigation on almost judicial lines was thus ensured.

Innes and Merriman, as I have already described, had been colleagues of Rhodes, but parted company on the Sivewright incident in 1893: and were now in Opposition. Schreiner was also a later colleague, whose allegiance had been rudely disturbed by the Raid. Fuller, of a moderate and philosophical temperament, was admittedly friendly to the late Premier, but Jones had always been an opponent, and Du Toit was the representative of the Afrikander Bond.

It cannot be said that the composition of the Committee foreshadowed any whitewashing of parties found guilty, and indeed, as we shall see later, they dealt faithfully with the issues involved.

On 1st June the Committee presented an interim Report—which was adopted—asking the Governor to ascertain whether the Transvaal desired to furnish any evidence on the Raid. Four days later a second Report was handed in, praying that a special Act might be passed to afford the Committee extended and unusual powers. The Report was adopted, and the

necessary Bill drafted and read a first and second time within the space of a few minutes. On 8th June it was read a third time, without amendment.

A few days later one of Rhodes's opponents—not a Dutch member—endeavoured to strike a side blow at him by interfering with the legal rights of the De Beers Mines in regard to the maintenance of Native Compounds, but the House, detecting animus, would have none of it.

On 25th June the Premier announced, amid general cheering, that he had offered the assistance of the Colony to Rhodesia to subdue the rebellion, which Rhodes was then engaged in suppressing, and he read a telegram from Earl Grey, the Administrator, thanking him for the offer and stating that the forces in the field were adequate for the purpose, and that the Company's difficulty was the transport of food and material. Again amid cheering, Sir Gordon Sprigg added that he had sent a Minute to the Governor for transmission to the Rhodesian authorities, offering to organise and send up a Transport Corps without delay. After considerable correspondence over the wires the offer of the Colony was courteously declined for the time, but, subsequently, in July, was accepted and acted upon.

A storm, long brewing, arose, however, on 14th July when Schreiner moved that leave of absence be granted for the session to the 'senior member for Barkly West,' his colleague in the representation of that constituency. It was a delicate task and gracefully performed. He admitted that Rhodes, through a common friend, had expressed a wish that the Motion should be made by him, if not embarrassing, and he himself thought that he was the appropriate channel

through which the application should be brought before the House.

'I move,' he added, 'with the deepest regret for all those circumstances which have combined to take the Honourable Member away from the place he has adorned in times past—(cheers)—but with no wish to raise any discussion or give a clean bill of health or—as has been suggested—to whitewash the Right Honourable gentleman. . . . He has shown by his action in the North that he is determined to do his best to carry out the great purpose he has set himself, and it would ill become the House if it were to waver in granting him what I hope, though I dare not believe, will be an unanimous leave of absence, leaving on one side the judgment which will have to be pronounced by the Select Committee.'

Several Dutch members objected to the Motion with great heat. Even Merriman took the same line, but Theron, in a spirited speech, deprecated the action of his compatriots, and said that his sense of fair play made it impossible for him to adopt their view. After considerable debate, the Motion came to a division and was carried by the overwhelming majority of fifty-two to twelve, the House thus again asserting its traditional sense of justice. Fourteen Dutch members voted with the majority and the issue would, therefore, have been decided by their votes alone.

On Friday, 17th July, Sir Thomas Upington at length brought up the Report of the Select Committee, with a Minority Report attached to it signed by himself alone. The Speaker, to mark the importance of the occasion, read the whole Report to the House, a document of forty-five clauses. I need not quote here

more than its principal conclusions. After summarising the evidence, the Committee say:—

'As regards Mr. Rhodes, your Committee can come to no other conclusion than that he was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad . . . but there is no evidence that he ever contemplated that the force at Pitsani should at any time invade the Transvaal uninvited. It appears rather to have been intended to support a movement from within . . . but your Committee cannot find that that fact relieves Mr. Rhodes from responsibility . . . and they are reluctantly forced to the conclusion, upon the evidence before them, that the part taken by him in the organisation which led to the inroad was not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony.'

Sir Thomas Upington's Minority Report differed from the others mainly by the following clause, 'That Mr. Rhodes was not only without knowledge of Dr. Jameson's intention to move the armed force under his control into the South African Republic at the time, but when he became aware of Dr. Jameson's illegal act, he did all that lay in his power to prevent further inroad.'

On 24th July, Schreiner, in an exhaustive and masterly speech, which will still repay perusal as a dignified and closely reasoned example of parliamentary oratory, moved the adoption of the Majority Report. The House and the galleries were crowded and the scene was an impressive one. The mover's concluding sentences were as follows:—

'I would just say that nothing in the course of the inquiry has caused me in any way to waver in the estimate I hold as to the motives of Mr. Rhodes. Mis-

guided though they were, they were the highest of motives. The supreme powers that Mr. Rhodes has are fit to adorn a position of the highest eminence, and I am sorry to think that these great powers have not been coupled in this matter with more respect for what is right and what is wrong. If Mr. Rhodes had had that respect, the Colony would not be standing in the position it is to-day. Mr. Rhodes sought to gain his ends by a short method, which was a wrong method, and I believe a day will come when he will say that his methods in this connection were utterly wrong. But I will never be led into the suggestion that his motives were at any time low or grovelling or sordid: and I believe that a vast majority of the people, not only in this Colony but throughout South Africa, including the Transvaal, would say the same. The aim of Mr. Rhodes was a high one. I wish it had been a right one.'

The effect of this memorable utterance was almost unprecedented. Not a single member on either side of the House rose to continue the debate and, without a word spoken, the adoption of the Report was carried unanimously.

A few days later—on 29th July—Parliament was prorogued. There was no anti-climax to a difficult session. The House had condemned the conduct of the late Prime Minister, while absolving his character from reproach. It could not have done less: the temptation, in those wild and whirling times, was to do much more. No deliberative Assembly could have done better.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND AFTER (1897)

British supremacy—Acquisition of land—Fruit farms—Dynamite factory—Reception at Groote Schuur—Banquet in Drill Hall—Rhodes and Labouchere—Sails for England—Cables to and from the Sirdar—Rhodes in London—Kruger and Judicial Bench—Rhodes before the Committee—Sails for South Africa—Re-enters the House of Assembly—Speeches outside—Permissive Federation—Lord Rosmead retires—Sir A. Milner—Rhodes a fatalist—Views on religion—House of Commons Committee Report—I visit Rhodesia—At the Matopos—Trek with Rhodes—Anecdotes.

On reaching Cape Town at the end of 1896, and before leaving for England to appear before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Rhodes took steps to carry into effect a policy he had elaborated while in Rhodesia. During the weary months in which, encamped under the stars, he strove to induce the Matabele chiefs to sue for peace, his thoughts doubtless strayed far afield, and especially in the direction of the future of the British in South Africa. The efforts of successive Governors of the Cape to strengthen the position of Great Britain as the predominant partner in the affairs of the sub-continent had failed. The attempt to achieve by arbitration the acquisition of the Eastern port of Delagoa Bay had failed. The belated effort of the Cape Colony to annex the territory now known as German South-West Africa had failed. Ever since Majuba and the retrocession, Dutch aspirations had steadily soared upward. For a while the alliance be-

tween Rhodes and the Bond had afforded England breathing time, but the death of President Brand had given a racial bent to the politics of the Orange Free State, and the extraordinary extent of the mineral discoveries in the Transvaal had placed its hitherto impecunious Burghers in possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Despairing to untie the Gordian knot, Rhodes had planned to cut it: unable to trace any clear indications of a broad highroad, he essayed, or allowed to be essayed, a short cut. The results were disastrous. A course of patient diplomacy could now alone be relied on to restore our lost prestige.

Meanwhile Rhodes, out of power in South Africa and out of favour in England, never for a moment lost his grasp of the essential fact that the peace and prosperity of the country could only be achieved by union under the Crown and flag of Great Britain. His sleeping and his waking thoughts were centred on this problem, and he saw, as indeed he had always seen, that one of the main requisites to success was to augment the English-speaking population in South Africa, and especially on the land. The Witwatersrand mining industry was essentially cosmopolitan, and little reliance could be placed on a floating population anxious only to accumulate wealth and be gone. The man on the soil was the permanent factor to be reckoned with, and to plant out more Englishmen on the soil now became the leading idea of the Imperial dreamer. In this direction he worked with ever-increasing energy till death terminated his labours for ever.

Nor did he work altogether in vain. In Rhodesia he allotted enormous blocks of land to influential companies in the expectation—as yet only imperfectly realised—that they would subdivide their vast holdings without

undue delay and thus create the 'more homes' for which he sighed. For himself, and to give the territory an object lesson in stock-farming and agriculture, he acquired 100,000 acres in Matabeleland and a similar estate in Mashonaland, and added to his Will a codicil dealing with their permanent upkeep. Similarly, in the heart of the Cape Colony he purchased a large interest in properties of about equal size.

He now submitted to me a plan for acquiring a preponderating influence in the sugar industry in Natal, and another for creating a fruit-growing industry in the very centre of the Dutch districts in the Cape Peninsula. The former project was balked by unexpected obstacles, but he carried through the latter regardless of expense, and by placing the development of the estates in the hands of Californian experts, he built up a trade which has had the most important results, besides incidentally strengthening the British electorate exactly where it had for years been persistently weak.

On similar lines and under the management of Americans, for whose thoroughness he always expressed profound admiration, he started in the Western districts as an offshoot of De Beers Mines a Dynamite Factory, which became one of the largest in the world, and which conferred an immense benefit on the whole mining industry of the country by breaking the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by a foreign Company under the protection of the Transvaal Government.

The year 1896, though an anxious one in many respects, was thus a year of great achievements.

Any doubt that may have existed as to the reception of Rhodes by the inhabitants of Cape Town was speedily set at rest. On a night shortly after his arrival an immense crowd wended its way five miles by road to

Groote Schuur and there, amid the glare of innumerable torches, he came out upon the balcony of his ruined house, and in response to an enthusiastic reception, addressed a few earnest and courageous words to his audience.

On 5th January he was entertained at a memorable banquet in the Drill Hall, the Mayor, Sir John Woodhead, presiding. Mr. T. E. Fuller, consequent on the Mayor's precarious state of health, was called on to propose the toast of the evening, and stated that the address to Rhodes had been signed by three-fourths of the registered voters of Cape Town. After alluding to the wonderful welcome given to their guest at Worcester, Wellington and Paarl, he proceeded to censure the conduct of Mr. Labouchere.

'It has been said,' he remarked, 'that it is bad form when Mr. Rhodes is going home to present himself before a Commission of Inquiry, for us to give him a word of welcome, but we should remember that one of the members of that Commission has been hounding down Mr. Rhodes with passionate vindictiveness. He was to be one of the judges of the tribunal. (Shame.) Was that fair play? (Loud cries of 'No.') We, as friends, say to our guest, "You have done great things for Africa and we want you back again." We see around us a new Cape Town. What has created it? The opening of the North. (Cheers.) Within two or three years' time we shall be awakened at De Aar by the shout, "Change here for the Zambesi." And the second thought of Mr. Rhodes is that of a Federated South Africa. That is the last and greatest dream of his life. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Rhodes is going away, but he must come back. (Prolonged cheers.) I say to him, Come back: appeal to the manhood of the people and

in the end no name will be inscribed higher than yours on the roll of those who have brought prosperity to our country.' (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Rhodes, whose rising was the signal for a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm, made a long and interesting speech of an hour and forty minutes' duration, in which he traversed the whole ground of his past political career and declared that, in spite of many faults and errors, he felt that he rested securely in the confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens.

The next day, after arranging to rebuild Groote Schuur and acquire the various properties to which I have alluded, Rhodes sailed for England in the *Dunvegan Castle*. From the city to the docks he was cheered by immense crowds, and no less than 5000 people assembled on the pier to witness his departure. It was a memorable send-off. The last letter he received was from a prominent Dutchman at Worcester, who concluded with, 'May the year 1897 bring you much happiness and success, and may you soon be our Premier and leader again.' And the last letter he penned was to me, authorising a payment of £2500 towards the proposed memorial at Bulawayo to those who had fallen in the war, and £11,000 as a contribution to party funds in the Cape Colony so as to ensure a satisfactory registration before the general election. 'It is,' he wrote, 'the crisis of the country. I think we may just win. I believe it would be better for the hereafter if we lost, so that I could devote my whole time to Rhodesia, but I owe much to the Cape and must pay my debt to her.'

On his arrival in England he received a cablegram from Lord Kitchener, dated Cairo, 30th January 1897. 'Can you spare three locomotives Gordon asked you

for ? Would assist me immensely.' Endorsed on the message in his own handwriting is his immediate reply, ' Yes, only too pleased to help you. Rhodes.'

During February he bombarded me with cablegrams urging expedition in acquiring land for settlement purposes. Current events in South Africa convinced him of the pressing need of action. The disturbed condition of the Transvaal entered, in February, on a new phase, the President having followed up his other successes by a determined attack on the independence of the Judicial Bench. So far back as September 1895, a critical question had arisen as to whether a Volksraad Resolution had the force of law, in other words, whether a settled statute could be overridden at any moment by a chance majority of the Raad. On 22nd January 1897, while Rhodes was on the water, a case came before the High Court at Pretoria (Brown *v.* Leyds, N.O.), in which the Government nakedly avowed this doctrine, but the Chief Justice and his colleagues were unanimously against their contention and gave judgment accordingly. It is only fair to add that in 1884, and again in 1888, the Court had seemed to favour a different view.

By Law No. 1 of 22nd February 1897, Kruger now sought to deny the right of the Court to test any Volksraad Resolution to see if it conformed to existing law. The Act was passed through all its stages in three days, and the Chief Justice (Kotzé) was dismissed from office, and although he appealed to the Burghers he obtained no satisfaction. Nevertheless, all five judges had the courage to issue on 1st March a declaration that the law was invalid. The Chief Justice of the Cape Colony thereupon, on 12th March, visited the Transvaal, and under his advice the Bench finally

agreed to recognise the Act provided the Grondwet or Constitution were altered to meet the case. But men felt that a serious blow had been dealt at the administration of justice.

Meanwhile, Rhodes was now fairly before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, one of whose members, as stated by Mr. Fuller, was the Editor of *Truth*, a virulent and pronounced enemy of the man practically on his trial.

The Committee met on 16th February, and Rhodes, being anxious to return to South Africa, was the first witness called, and made a frank admission that he had sympathised with the intolerable grievances of the Uitlanders, assisting them with his purse and advice; that he placed the British South Africa Company's Police within striking distance of Johannesburg without informing the High Commissioner or his co-directors of the step he had taken; but that the actual Raid took place without his authority. His action, he said, was greatly influenced by a belief that the Transvaal Government sought to introduce the intervention of a foreign power in the already complicated affairs of South Africa.

Rhodes was, of course, subjected to cross-examination of a rigid character, and he placed a written statement before the Committee, but substantially his defence was the simple one that he had acted under great provocation and in the interests of the Empire. His examination was spread over eight days in February and March.

In his defence of Rhodes (4th June 1897), Mr. Pope quoted the view of a not too friendly critic, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, who had already written, 'Now, whatever one may come to think of the policy and action of Mr.

Cecil Rhodes, it must be owned that his statement seems to be full, clear, candid and consistent. He has indeed presented to the Committee a State paper of great historic importance.'

Subsequently, Mr. Pope, in a masterly review of the circumstances leading up to the Reform Movement in the Transvaal and, incidentally, to the Raid, said, 'I do not know whether that statement of grievances is sufficient justification for revolution, but it reads to me very like a statement which 200 years ago was sufficient, at all events, to change the dynasty of this country and to lay the foundation of our present freedom.'

In conclusion he said, 'I invite this Committee to report upon Mr. Rhodes's connection with this case as being an episode in a great career, which, though it may give us cause for regret, ought not, and cannot, properly be made any occasion of lasting or permanent reproach.'

Meanwhile Rhodes, to be not in the way, yet not out of the way, went for a short Continental tour with a few personal friends, visiting Paris, Madrid, Rome, Milan and Florence, and returning to England on 30th March. One of his objects was to ascertain whether the olive could be profitably introduced into South Africa.

Long before the Committee reported to the House, Rhodes was back again in South Africa. With one exception, members had treated him with fairness and courtesy. Sir William Harcourt remarked genially to him, 'I should not mind being in such a scrape if I could change the years that I carry for yours.' Nevertheless, Sir William outlived him.

Rhodes sailed from England on the 3rd April in his

favourite ship the *Tantallon Castle.* He arrived in Cape Town on the 20th of the same month, and was received by the Mayors of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and an immense gathering of citizens, to whom, in answer to a cordial address, he said he had returned to strive for equal political rights for every white man south of the Zambesi. 'But I shall fight,' he added, 'constitutionally.'

He found that the Afrikander Bond, sitting at Malmesbury, had been in hot discussion regarding him. One member, Mr. Du Plessis, M.L.A., had the courage to say that he believed Rhodes to be as good an Afrikander as ever, and other members admitted that, in spite of the Raid, Rhodes would head the poll in any Dutch constituency; but the rank and file were too deeply hurt to be appeased, and passed a resolution declining to co-operate with him further, though they also rejected—by 29 votes to 12—a proposal to co-operate with their brethren in the two Republics. Their aim was to secure the re-entry of Hofmeyr into Parliament and, failing this, to induce the Chief Justice to enter the arena. Both schemes failed.

The day after his arrival Rhodes took his seat in the House of Assembly and received a warm welcome, only one irreconcilable Dutchman uttering a sepulchral groan amid general laughter. The House, Rhodes inclusive, immediately adjourned to take leave of the retiring High Commissioner, who sailed that afternoon in the *Norman.* From that date until the 3rd June, Rhodes was a diligent attendant but not a conspicuous contributor to debate, though he voted steadily with his party and laboured actively in its reorganisation. He had undergone his great trial and emerged from the ordeal, not indeed scatheless, but

carrying with him the openly expressed conviction of his countrymen at home and abroad that despite the terrible check to his career, he was still a force to be reckoned with, and the foremost man in the Colonial Empire. It was a source of sincere gratification to him that on 2nd April the Colonial Office wrote to the High Commissioner that, in view of the fact that the term Rhodesia was in December, 1895, accepted by Her Majesty's Government for postal purposes, and looking also to its general use in South Africa in official and non-official documents, it was now resolved henceforth to use this designation for all purposes to describe collectively the territories under the administration of the British South Africa Company.

His reception on arrival was by no means the only recognition Rhodes received. On 22nd April, 1500 trade representatives, railway artisans and others marched in the evening with torches to Groote Schuur, ere reaching which their numbers increased to 5000. He readily complied with their demand for a speech. 'I have had enough'—he told them—'of physical agitation. Henceforth it must be constitutional and based on votes. You are partners with me in the far North, which is—if I may venture to utter the word—under the British flag. Take my advice. Join no party whose direct programme is to keep race feeling alive. Use your time, your energy and any influence at the polls you may possess, to see that the hopeless system prevailing elsewhere in South Africa shall end. We must as a party be for equal rights and equal laws for every white man. Let us have free trade throughout the country, and let the best man win irrespective of his race.' (Loud cheering.)

On 23rd April he spoke with equal force to the Typo-

graphical Association, and public references to his work by the Salvation Army and the Young Men's Christian Association were enthusiastically received.

Intense feeling was aroused about this time by President Kruger in a speech at Bloemfontein describing the Queen as 'een kwaaje vrouw,' but it is doubtful whether any offence was intended, the words being capable, by a fair interpretation, of meaning 'a determined woman.'

An active campaign against Sir Gordon Sprigg was about this time in progress, but all British sections of the population drew together in the face of what now seemed a common danger.

In June Rhodes granted transfer to the inhabitants of Mowbray and contiguous suburbs of a large piece of land, being an outlying portion of his Groote Schuur Estate, for the purposes of a recreation ground, and recast his Will, vesting the remainder of his property in the Federal Government, for the early formation of which he was now strenuously resolved to work. Rather than see any delay in this direction, he was prepared to advocate the passing of an Act in the Cape Parliament in favour of permissive Federation, provided the general election gave him even a small majority, and he arranged with Mr. Harry Escombe to introduce a similar measure in the Natal Legislature.

In April, business required my presence in Pretoria, and, before leaving, I said good-bye to the retiring High Commissioner, Lord Rosmead. His successor, Sir Alfred Milner, arrived and assumed office on 5th May. Rhodes had proceeded to Kimberley on 3rd June, and gone on to Bulawayo on 17th of the month. While at the former place he took the important step of inducing the De Beers Mines to help to develop the coal

industry in Natal, much to the advantage of that prosperous little Colony, now a Province of the Union.

Again in June it became necessary for me to visit the Transvaal, and I wrote to Rhodes from there on 24th June. His reply, which is an unusually long one, is dated 3rd July, and deals comprehensively with his financial position. He had not then asked me to be one of his Trustees, but, speaking of his Life Governorship of the De Beers Consolidated Mines, he writes, 'Beit and I have an arrangement which comes in force on the death of either of us. I mention this as I propose to cross the Zambesi this year, and it would be very ridiculous to lose one's ideas by death. I know you sufficiently to ask you to read my Will. It will amuse you. I am almost superstitious. I knew Barnato would not outlive me, so I made no arrangement with him. If Beit had not made the arrangement with me, he would have also died first. Now the thought has come that I might go first and my ideas be lost. Beit will honourably carry out our agreement, but I thought it better to mention it to you, and on my return I will have it settled by a legal document.'

On 14th July he laid the foundation stone of the Wesleyan Church in Bulawayo. The silver trowel handed to him for the purpose being of flimsy construction, he threw it down amid general laughter, and used the contractor's trowel. Speaking on this occasion he said, 'There was nothing one noticed in life more than the similarity of religions. Whether one inquired into the religion of the ancient Egyptians and took up the *Book of the Dead*, the precepts of which were almost similar to those of Zoroaster or Confucius; or went back to the religion of the Romans, and read the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*; or con-

sidered the religion of the Greeks, and read the works of Aristotle; in all the same idea arose—to raise humanity higher. The idea was not new—it was as old as the beginning of civilisation in the world. What they had to be thankful for that day was that the superstitions of the religions of the past were disappearing. One was the superstition in connection with human sacrifice. If they only looked back a short time in the history of the country (Rhodesia), they would find the superstition of the M'limo, which gave the happy despatch to so many. That was also a religion, but a bad one. The object of all religions in the future would be the betterment of humanity, and he would ask all those present to help in however small a degree towards the settlement of that object.'

During July he telegraphed to me from Bulawayo almost daily. Even after writing an ordinary letter, he generally telegraphed to say he had done so. I find that I telegraphed to him with congratulations on his birthday (5th July), and again on 15th July to say I had carefully read his Will and found it interesting rather than amusing.

Foiled in his hopes of crossing the Zambesi owing to administrative business requiring his early presence in Salisbury, he now urged me to come up to Bulawayo and accompany him in a mule-waggon. Meanwhile the House of Commons had received and considered the Report of its Select Committee. It had originally been appointed on 30th July 1896, and consisted of fifteen members, including the Attorney-General (Sir R. Webster), and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks Beach), and its terms of reference were, 'To inquire into the Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion into the South African Republic of

an Armed Force, and into the Administration of the British South Africa Company, and to report thereon: and further, to report what alterations are desirable in the government of the Territories under the control of the Company.' On 14th August the Committee decided that at that late period of the session it was undesirable to prosecute the inquiry, and a postponement was consequently sanctioned.

On 13th July 1897 the Committee presented its Report in a volume, with annexures, of 780 pages. They had examined a very large number of important witnesses and asked nearly 10,000 questions. They admitted having had before them the Report of the similar Committee appointed by the Cape Parliament, and recorded that Rhodes had expressed his willingness, generally, to accept the finding of that Committee as to the facts, and that he had made it clear to them that he accepted responsibility for the actions of those who had served, directly or indirectly, under his orders. Their conclusion was, in brief, that whatever justification there may have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in the official position of Rhodes, but they added, as the Cape Committee had virtually added, that in regard to allegations that the Raid had been engineered for stock-jobbing purposes, the charge was entirely without foundation.

It may be noted that when the Report, which was drafted by the Chairman, came up for consideration on 6th July, Mr. Labouchere endeavoured to substitute for it an alternative report of his own, but he found himself in a minority of one. The Report was finally adopted by 10 votes to 1, Mr. Labouchere absenting himself.

During the debate that ensued in the House of Commons, it became clear that the object of several extreme members was not so much to punish Rhodes as to 'get at' Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Office for purely party purposes. Ultimately Mr. Philip Stanhope moved, 'That this House regrets the inconclusive action and Report of the Select Committee on British South Africa, and especially the failure of that Committee to recommend specific steps with regard to Mr. Rhodes.' The robust common sense of the House threw out the Motion by 304 votes to 77, amid loud cheers, and although a press controversy raged for some weeks, the subject gradually dropped, especially as the nation came to see that, though the Raid was dead and buried, the causes that led to it were still very much alive and would probably result, sooner or later, in an appeal to arms.

On the 4th August I at length paid my first visit to Rhodesia, reaching rail-head at Francis Town five days later, and Bulawayo on 11th August. There I found Rhodes deep in conference with railway contractors, traffic managers, and with a formidable body of would-be interviewers lounging at his office doors. Not caring to disturb him, I retired to my bedroom, and there, midway in a leisurely bath, was surprised by him. He burst upon me like a whirlwind, threw himself on the bed, and, while I dressed, plunged into local, Colonial and Imperial politics with the abandon of a man who had long been tongue-tied. He was at times a difficult man to converse with, as he often assumed that you knew more of the workings of his mind and of his plans than was actually the case.

In the cool of the evening we rode together to Government House, and as it was dark ere we again reached

town we walked our horses, while Rhodes discoursed on 'fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute'; recited his religious beliefs, discussed his past career and future schemes, and finally came round to the point at which he all along aimed—'Would I be one of his executors?' I pointed out my seniority in age, which he met by declaring that his heart was affected to such an extent that he was like to a man under sentence of death. I then objected that under his Will all Cape Colony scholarships were vested in the South African College and the Victoria College at Stellenbosch, two institutions mainly frequented at that date by Dutch-speaking students, whereas I desired to strengthen the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and the St. Andrew's College, Graham's Town, which were conducted more on the lines of English public schools. He at once agreed to provide for both these Institutions, and requested me to draft a codicil to that effect. Early next morning the document was drawn up and duly executed, whereupon he exulted like a great schoolboy—sat upon his hands as was his wont when pleased, and cried, 'I 've got you: I 've got you now.'

On 14th August he drove me to his huts in the Matopos where we spent Sunday. He explained to me *en route* that he had settled 4000 natives on the estate, including old Babyan and several witch-doctors and other dangerous characters recently in rebellion. In almost every second hut there was a chief. Every step in the Matabele 'peerage' was represented. Lo Bengula's own brother was there, with several of his wives, children and sisters. I suggested that we should all have our throats cut, but he jeered at me as a 'Town-bird,' and asked with some force whether

it was not good policy to have all the malcontents under his eye and control rather than allow them to live scattered over a vast area to be centres of sedition.

After an early breakfast he rode with me to what he called the view of the world, in order to point out the exact spot in which he desired to be buried, and he lay down there 'to see how it felt'!

On the Sunday afternoon we held an indaba of the indunas. We sat in a small group surrounded by at least fifty stalwart natives, and Rhodes, addressing them in their own language, said a few words to each chief. To some he spoke graciously, much to their delight. With others he was jocular, whereupon the whole assembly, after the immemorial custom of courtiers, laughed immoderately. To one man alone he was minatory and severe—a man who was reported to be still mischievously disposed. To him Rhodes addressed a few scathing remarks, till the fellow slowly changed from darkest bronze to ashen grey, and the beads of perspiration stood out upon his abashed forehead.

Finally, he spoke to them collectively on a subject very near his heart—on the distinction drawn by white people between killing in fair fight and massacring unprotected non-combatants on lonely farms. On this theme he appeared to speak with real eloquence, and as the crowd, in excitement, closed in upon us, he put the crucial question, 'Will you promise never to kill our women and children again?' An immediate, unanimous and unmistakable cry in the affirmative was given, but Rhodes looked disconcerted, and a smile flickered on the faces of those who knew the language, for the reply, as I afterwards ascertained,

RHODES' GRAVE ON THE MATOPOS.
"HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF CECIL JOHN RHODES."

Photo. by F. H. Melland.

was, 'We will kill no women, Inkoos, Baba, unless thou order it.'

For him, and at his bidding, they were prepared to commit any atrocity, and therefore, like the Town Clerk at Ephesus, he judiciously dismissed the Assembly.

On Monday morning we visited Mosilikatze's grave in the hills to see that it was intact. During the war a ruffianly trooper rifled the cairn and was preparing to sell the dead king's bones as curios, but Rhodes came down upon him like an avalanche, recovered the fragments and summoned the Matabele far and wide to come and restore them to their resting-place with all the pomp and ceremony dear to the native mind. It was this intimate insight into their thoughts and habits that gave Rhodes so strong a hold upon all native tribes with whom he was brought into contact.

On 18th August we left Bulawayo for Salisbury where we arrived in a fortnight after a most enjoyable trek in the veld, starting very early every morning, shooting along the road, and sitting late around the camp fire. It was a severe mental discipline to be at such close quarters with Rhodes. He had a habit of throwing at one the gravest problems and requiring their instant and intelligent discussion. Weak platitudes and slipshod reasons were an abomination to him, and he kept one's faculties at full stretch.

On 23rd August we slept at Enkeldoorn, an exclusively Dutch settlement. Rhodes had an informal and afterwards a formal talk with them in their own language, and they subsequently cheered us vociferously on our way, as if there had never been any Raid at all.

At Charter we had an amusing experience. The young non-commissioned officer in charge came to report that a local chief, Umswitchwe, was mutinous and required to be promptly dealt with, as he had shot Major Ridley in the foot and killed one of his troopers and a policeman. 'He even defies me, sir,' said the complainant, as if that filled up the chief's cup. Rhodes mildly reminded him that he himself was no longer a man in authority, as the armed forces of the Company had been vested in Sir Richard Martin, but the officer gave a tolerant smile at this absurdity and stood his ground. The following dialogue then took place:—

RHODES. 'But how did the chief defy you?'

N.-C. OFFICER. 'He jeered at me.'

RHODES. 'Jeering does not constitute a *casus belli*.'

N.-C. OFFICER. 'Well, I 'm blest!'

RHODES. 'I tell you what you can do. *You* go right up to the kraal and be fired at. That will be a *casus belli*.'

N.-C. OFFICER (*saluting*). 'Very good, sir, I 'll go on Wednesday.'

This tranquil arrangement rather took my breath away, but a day or two after our arrival at Salisbury the imperturbable non-commissioned officer rode in, bringing the chief a prisoner. He had drawn fire on the Wednesday as arranged, stormed the kraal and captured Umswitchwe red-handed. Of such is our Island brood.

I had a pleasant time at Salisbury, rough-drafting Acts and Ordinances required by Rhodes, and finally left the Territory by way of Beira and reached Cape Town on 17th September. Rhodes, though suffering

from influenza, was a delightful companion and comrade, as all who ever travelled with him will testify. His thoughtfulness for others was proverbial, and he was never seen to better advantage than when on trek.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SERIOUS ILLNESS

Transcontinental Telegraph—Rhodes at Inyanga—Opening of Railway to Bulawayo—Native newspaper—Subscribes to party funds—High Commissioner in Rhodesia—Rhodes back at Salisbury—Transvaal Claim for Moral and Intellectual Damages.

DURING our journey between Bulawayo and Salisbury, Rhodes thought and spoke much of his project of linking up Cape Town with Egypt by means of his African Transcontinental Telegraphic Company. For nearly two years he had frequently re-erected the section between Salisbury and Têtè—an unhealthy district 220 miles in length. Telegraphists died at their post, natives cut the wires, elephants destroyed the poles, and the maintenance of the section seemed to present insuperable difficulties. Beyond Têtè to Tanganyika the line was progressing satisfactorily, but the Salisbury-Têtè section caused continual anxiety.

Soon after we left Enkeldoorn, we fell in with Lieutenant Wood of the 7th Dragoons, with fifty men, bound to Salisbury with telegraph material. Thereafter Rhodes dropped into a brown study of at least an hour's duration, terminated by an imperious call for a map of South Africa. This he studied intently for some time until suddenly his brow cleared and he exclaimed, 'Thank God, that 's settled.' In an hour he had entirely altered the route of the line, abandoned Salisbury as a base, and decided to pull down the poles and re-erect them from Umtali, carrying the wires over the high and

healthy plateau of Inyanga to where Manicaland slopes to the Zambesi in the north-east corner of Rhodesia. With his thumb he had roughly calculated distances. He had, moreover, chosen an experienced telegraphist to relay the line, had decided to request Dr. Jameson to supervise the work, and had sketched out a plan to erect a Sanatorium for disabled workmen. At the next telegraph station he despatched the necessary messages to all parties concerned, and left a note for Lieutenant Wood to take men and materials across country to Umtali, after which he dismissed the subject from his mind.

In consequence of this decision Dr. Jameson travelled down with me to Umtali and went from thence to Inyanga, and Rhodes soon followed him, while I returned to Cape Town by sea. Inyanga is a healthy district over 6000 feet above the sea, but hardly an ideal residence for a man with a weak heart. He had barely recovered from influenza when he contracted fever, and for a while his life hung in the balance. Serious rumours at length reached Cape Town as to the condition of his health, and during September and October I received numerous messages on the subject, in which he admitted a break-down. So late as 15th November he wired that he was progressing favourably but obliged to keep very quiet, and in December he stated that the Magistrate at Umtali was down with fever, and that he had ordered him away to Muizenberg, where he was to occupy the cottage which I was requested to furnish for his reception.

Even in illness his thoughtfulness for others never slackened. Throughout this period he sent me a large number of business telegrams dealing with the general election, the re-building of Groote Schuur and the

purchase of fruit farms. All these had to be despatched by native runners to Umtali, a distance of sixty miles.

On 7th November 1897, he wrote to his agent at Bulawayo as follows, 'As regards the farmers I am helping in the Matopos, insist on their making butter daily; and that they keep the plough going now the planting season is here. People must learn that they must work all day. We must have no loafers; our farmers must work, otherwise they will fail.'

On 4th December the railway was opened to Bulawayo amid general rejoicings, but Rhodes, of course, was too ill to attend. In August, before he left for the Eastern part of Rhodesia he had, however, given instructions that all those who came up for the opening ceremony should be sent out to the Matopos, arranging that a good road should be constructed and mule coaches engaged for the conveyance of the large number of visitors who came from all parts of South Africa as well as from England. Every one was delighted beyond measure at his forethought, and it was far and away the feature of the occasion.

About this time he was interesting himself in a project for starting a respectable native newspaper in the Cape Colony, which resulted in the publication of *Izwi Labantu* (The Voice of the People) as a rival to an existing paper which had been captured by the Afrikander party. He also authorised considerable additional political expenditure in connection with the approaching elections.

A delicate question was also remitted to him for settlement, owing to an announcement that Dr. Jameson had been invited to stand for the Cape Parliament. On 12th and 13th November, telegrams were sent to him by party agents and by prominent politicians urging

that the candidature should be withdrawn, but Rhodes declined to intervene and Dr. Jameson was duly elected, thus commencing a public career which rehabilitated him in the good opinion of South Africa and led at no distant date to the Premiership of the Colony.

Meanwhile, the new High Commissioner had lost no time in visiting Rhodesia where, on 25th November, at Umtali, he received an address from the inhabitants which, *inter alia*, said :—

'We desire to call your Excellency's attention to the fact that the man whose conception the occupation of this great country was, and who has led us successfully through years of doubt and danger to a continually increasing prosperity, no longer holds any controlling or official position in its government, and to assure your Excellency of the determination of the people of this country to stand firmly by Mr. Rhodes, who has stood so well by us.'

In his reply, the High Commissioner struck a bold and sympathetic note. 'He could not fail,' he said, 'to refer to the prominent services of Mr. Rhodes. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) He believed it was the desire of the country to stand by Mr. Rhodes, and it was the strong and hearty support of the people which pulled him through as critical a time as had ever occurred in the life of any contemporary British statesman.' (Loud cheers.)

During December Rhodes, though still an invalid, managed to travel back to Salisbury. While there he received a joint telegram from an influential group of friends and political supporters, declaring that his presence in Cape Town was urgently needed; that Mr. Hofmeyr was exerting himself strenuously at the Paarl and other Dutch districts to ensure the success

of his party at the polls in the following March, and that Transvaal secret service money was being disbursed with a lavish hand. The doctors, however, put a veto on the journey and ordered him a long sea voyage. For a while he amused himself by planning a trip to Canada to see Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for whom he always expressed great admiration, but when the time came he found that it was impossible to get away. He accordingly proceeded to Bulawayo on 31st December 1897, reaching that town on 3rd January 1898, his health having temporarily improved. He arrived in Cape Town later in the month, and at once proceeded to discuss with me the Transvaal claim for £677,938 for material damages in connection with the Raid, but the further claim of £1,000,000 for 'moral and intellectual' damages he refused to regard as serious. He suggested the appointment of an arbitrator on each side, and requested me to act for the British South Africa Company. The claim, as we know, came to nothing —indeed, there seems reason to believe that the Transvaal Government made a substantial profit out of the unfortunate expedition, as a War Tax had already been levied on every property-owning Uitlander who happened to be an absentee, and the fines on the Reformers, levied with unsparing severity, came to a large sum.

During this period of enforced idleness owing to ill-health, Rhodes dwelt frequently, in conversation with friends, on his desire to be buried in the Matopos. 'Lay me there,' he would say; 'my Rhodesians will like it: *they* have never bitten me.'

The approach of death was familiar to his mind, and although he was wont to refer regretfully to the brevity of modern life, and to scoff at Methuselah as a man

who must 'have missed many chances,' he uttered no unmanly repinings at the approach of the dread Shadow.

It was his consolation that Rhodesia was on the way to greatness.

'Don't forget,' he said about this time, 'that Rhodesia will some day be the dominant factor in South African politics. All the other States will court her, but she must be wary of accepting their advances. They will seek her in their own interests, but she must remember the rock from which she was hewn, and the Empire of which she is one of the outposts.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

A STRENUOUS YEAR (1898)

Matopo Dam—Rhodes in Cape Town—Interviewed by *Cape Times*—New Order in Council—Addresses Cape electors—Sails for England—Present at meeting of Chartered Company—Attends meeting Transcontinental Telegraphs—Cape Parliament assembles—Efforts to overthrow Sprigg by Schreiner and the Bond—Redistribution Bill—Sprigg defends his letter to Chamberlain—Government defeated—Appeal to the country—Rhodes's political speeches—Result of General Election—Sprigg resigns—Schreiner succeeds—Rhodes presents the Van Riebeeck statue to Cape Town—Attends the De Beers meeting—Sails for England.

HAVING strenuously endeavoured to give a favourable turn to the fortunes of his settlers in Rhodesia, Rhodes now addressed himself to the task of giving an object lesson to that country by completing the construction of his immense Dam in the Matopos, capable of placing under irrigation an extensive area of good soil on the flats below the little kopje on which he had built his residential huts. It was a bold undertaking, for such works involve a considerable outlay, and in South Africa—a country of torrential rains—are not unseldom washed away, with disastrous results. But his choice of a Contractor, as well as that of a supervising engineer, was a wise one. The Dam has stood the test of time, and below it there is now a smiling valley where formerly there was nothing but bare veld.

In January 1898, he was back in Cape Town arranging with the Commissioner of Railways for joint working arrangements and in-transit rates between the Cape

Colony and Rhodesia, a task involving much delicate negotiation.

On 11th February a deputation from the Progressive organisation, the South African League, visited Groote Schuur and discussed the rumoured closer union between the two Dutch Republics, when Rhodes made the important suggestion that in such a case the Cape, Natal, and Rhodesia should federate under the British flag.

On 8th March he created a widespread sensation by according an interview to the *Cape Times*, at which, in very outspoken fashion, he declared that his old supporter the Bond, under its new leadership, was entirely against progress, unity and equality, and was dominated by a Continental gang in Pretoria. He added that Rhodesia now offered more fascinations for him than Cape politics, and that he was willing to retire from the latter provided the people of the Colony would let him go.

About this time his many anxieties were aggravated by the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to make important alterations in the Matabeleland Order in Council (1894) so as to limit the power of administration and control hitherto exercised by the Chartered Company. Authority over the police had already been withdrawn as the result of the Raid, and it was not an unreasonable contention of the Company that any further restriction of their powers might re-act disastrously on the native mind.

On 12th March Rhodes addressed the electors of Cape Town in support of the Progressive candidates then in the field.

After dealing with local politics and putting in a weighty plea for a Colonial contribution to the Royal

Navy, he touched on the burning question of the misgovernment of the Transvaal, pointing out that, though the newcomers outnumbered the Boers and were practically bearing the whole taxation of the country, the President was depriving them of the franchise, forbidding the use of their language and the right of public meeting, and tampering with the independence of the Judicial Bench. Referring again to the frequent suggestion of his opponents that he would do well to disappear from public life, he declared that he had many faults to atone for, and the best atonement he could make would be to work for great South African objects and sacrifice everything for the cause.

Reuter's cable to London reported that Rhodes had a splendid reception from an immense audience which completely filled the hall. On 15th March he was equally well received when addressing a workman's meeting at Salt River. The report says he spoke with unusual ease, and never for a moment lost touch with his audience.

The next day he left for England in the *Tantallon Castle*, undertaking to return, if possible, in time for the meeting of Parliament in May.

From Madeira he cabled a large additional grant to party funds—a grant supplemented later on. Transvaal secret service money was, rightly or wrongly, believed to be the great resource of his political opponents and, rather than be unfairly beaten, he was prepared to help every Progressive candidate who was judged unable to afford the expense of the general election now approaching. There is much to be said by the purist against these subsidies, but let those who have never accepted such assistance cast the first stone.

On 21st April, the British South Africa Company held an important meeting of its shareholders. No meeting had been held in 1897, and therefore the accounts of two years were presented. Rhodes was present and was made the subject of an extraordinarily enthusiastic demonstration. Shareholders were receiving no dividend and no promise or prospect of one, but with a vein of sentiment extremely rare on such occasions they received him with frantic applause. 'Vindex' remarks of him, 'As he stood and looked over that crowd of eager faces he seemed less impassive and more human than usual: more like a modern man who knew what failure and suffering meant than—as he usually looked—a Roman Emperor born with an ambition to administer the world.'

His speech is far too long for insertion here. It was a sound defence of the policy of the Company, and in regard to the Customs Tariff he was able to announce that his prophecy had come true. The British Government had at length yielded to his importunity and forbidden the imposition in Southern Rhodesia of any higher duties on goods of British manufacture. He had established his point and granted the mother country preferential rates almost in her own despite. Sooner or later his will generally prevailed.

On 19th May he addressed a meeting of shareholders in the Transcontinental Telegraph Company, at which he reviewed the position and prospects of the concern in an interesting and characteristic speech. He must immediately have sailed for the Cape, as we find him in the House of Assembly there three weeks later.

The Cape Parliament held a short session from 20th May to 25th June. In his opening speech Sir Alfred Milner, after remarking that he was addressing

them for the first time, thanked members for their loyal welcome, referred to the shadow cast over the Empire by the death of Mr. Gladstone, and announced, in guarded terms, that the relations of the Cape with other South African States were cordial, and that Natal had joined the Customs Union.

Sir Gordon Sprigg, however, was soon to feel that the anti-Rhodes party were determined to drive him from power. On 31st May Schreiner, whose abilities were recognised and perhaps utilised by extremer men, led the assault by giving notice that at an early date he would move 'That the Government does not possess the confidence of the House.' The motion did not come on for a fortnight. During the interval several reactionary Dutch members gave a taste of their quality. In a debate on Native Labour they reviled the lazy habits of the natives, but the Premier, in defence, said the native was a good servant if properly treated by farmers, and that under Rhodes's Glen Grey Act, natives, instead of loafing and stealing, now went out to work.

On 2nd June a private member drew attention to a resolution of the House of 1st June 1897, requesting the Transvaal to rescind the prohibitive and unfriendly tax on Cape tobacco, but the Premier had to reply that his representations to the President had been unavailing.

On 10th June an adjourned debate on the Parliamentary Representation Bill was resumed. The measure had been referred to in the Governor's speech in the following terms :—

'Since the Constitution was conferred upon the Colony nearly half a century ago, many changes have occurred in regard to the number and location of the inhabitants, and on this account it has been generally

recognised that the time has arrived when the electoral divisions and the number of their representatives should be brought into line with the distribution of the people to-day.' The Governor proceeded to add that an experienced Committee had reported on this subject, that their recommendations had been accepted in the main, and that a Bill had been drafted in terms thereof to provide for the better representation of the people.

In theory the necessity for such a redistribution was unquestioned, but, as we know, in the absence of any automatic system, every adjustment of the franchise by one political party is jealously scrutinised by the opposition. It was so on this occasion. The towns, which during many years had grown to a considerable extent, were now much under-represented, while the country districts had more than their share. But the towns were preponderantly British and progressive: the rural districts were Dutch. It was a bold step on the part of Sir Gordon Sprigg to endeavour, at this juncture, to redress the balance, and the Bond were not unnaturally quick to suspect that although the voice was the voice of Sprigg, the hand was the hand of Rhodes.

Rhodes was present during the adjourned debate, but beyond an interjection of disagreement when attacked by Schreiner for fanning racial flame—a flagrantly unjust charge considering the facts—he again contented himself with a bare denial of the statement. It was evident that his opponents were endeavouring to taunt him into injudicious speech, but he was too shrewd to be caught, and the net was spread in vain.

After prolonged debate, the second reading of the Bill was carried on 20th June by 42 to 35, Rhodes voting with the Government. An analysis of the

division list shows that, but for a certain amount of unexpected support from a few moderate Dutch members, the Government would have been defeated. Indeed, a few days earlier, and on a minor point, they had been left in a minority of ten, and they now had to face the direct issue of 'No confidence' raised by Schreiner.

This motion occupied the House for several days and led, as might have been expected, to extravagant displays of racial feeling which Rhodes was so anxious to avoid, and the responsibility for which history will probably place on Schreiner alone.

On the 14th June, the latter spoke for two hours, and after accusing Sprigg of endeavouring to prevent the Raid inquiry in 1896, and criticising all the latter's colleagues with eloquent acrimony, he fell upon Rhodes with cold and calculated fury. The next day, after what all parties admitted to be a masterly speech from Innes in support of the Government, Rhodes at length spoke, in justice, he said, both to his constituents and himself. 'If,' he added, 'the motion is carried, we know what will be the result. We shall go to the country. As far as I am concerned I am only too ready to go to the country.' (Loud cheers.)

On 22nd June, Sprigg summed up the debate. Replying to a debating point that he had endeavoured to whitewash Rhodes in the course of a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he replied that he adhered to every word he had written, and especially to the following, which he read to the House *in extenso*:

'With respect to Mr. Rhodes, it is my belief that he still retains to a large extent the popularity he has held in South Africa for some years. Speaking for the Cape Colony, I should say the vast majority of the

English population support him strongly, and I doubt whether more than half even of the Dutch population are really opposed to him. I observe that a notice of motion has been given for the removal of his name from the Privy Council. I am convinced that such action would not be favourably reviewed in the Cape Colony: it would indicate a vindictive feeling, and that feeling is certainly not entertained by many persons in the Colony. Of course, every one recognises that a wrong has been done and that punishment must follow, as a matter of course. But Mr. Rhodes's punishment has been great. He has lost, for a time at least, the great position he held. The public generally see and understand that, but what they do not see is the terrific force of the blow that has been received: that can only be measured by those who, like myself, have been intimately associated with him. We would say, "Do not strike him down to the earth." But there is something beyond this. Rhodes has rendered great services to the Empire in South Africa: services so great that they should be regarded as a set-off against the one wrong he has committed. That will be the verdict of history: that, I am convinced, will be the judgment of the great majority of the people of the Colony if a poll were taken on the question to-day. The desire is that the errors of the past should be forgotten and that Mr. Rhodes should be cheered and encouraged in the great work he has undertaken in the interior of South Africa, so that he may be able to offer the fruits of his labour as a rich atonement for his past offences.'

It was a courageous letter, and it was addressed to a courageous and Imperial statesman, and had its due weight. The Premier, in one of the finest speeches

he ever made, defended the policy of his administration as cautious, conciliatory and suited to the dangerous times in which the country found itself, but owing to the defection of the three notorious mugwumps, whose consciences frequently impelled them to vote against their own party on critical occasions, the Government, on a division, were left in a minority of five, and on the following day Sprigg announced that the interests of the country demanded a dissolution of the House, and that the Governor was prepared to act accordingly. The Opposition, who had apparently relied on the immediate resignation of the Government, were obviously chagrined, and threatened to refuse to pass the Partial Appropriation Bill required, but after several days' debate, during which Rhodes repeatedly spoke with dignity and effect, more patriotic counsels prevailed, supply was granted, and on 28th June the House was prorogued.

The election that followed was a memorable one. The Bond, after serious questionings, had definitely broken with Rhodes and accepted Schreiner as his successor. Party feeling ran high, and neither side would give quarter. Rhodes threw himself into the contest with great energy.

During August he visited all the outlying stations in his own constituency of Barkly West, speaking on the first at Windsorten and Barkly West; on the second at Klipdam twice; again at Barkly West on the third, and at Longlands on the fourth. Later in the month he again spoke at Klipdam. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. Schreiner, hitherto his colleague, wisely did not seek re-election at Barkly West, a safer Bond seat being provided for him at Malmesbury, a Dutch district.

On 3rd September, he spoke at Taungs, and twice at Vryburg, in support of the Progressive candidates. A press report says:—

'At Taungs the station was decorated with bunting, and a large crowd had assembled, who cheered vociferously as the train steamed in. Mr. Rhodes and party having alighted, Mr. Green, Secretary of the local Election Committee, presented an address of welcome and congratulation.

'Mr. Rhodes, in reply, said: "I have to thank you, gentlemen, for your kindness in coming from Taungs to see me, and also for the address with which you have been so good as to present me. I think I am justified in saying that had it not been for myself this country would now form a portion of the Transvaal, and it is for you to judge whether you are better off under Her Majesty's flag, with all the advantages accruing from the extension to the North, or whether it would have been better if you had become an integral part of the Transvaal Republic. But I do claim that owing to myself to a great extent the map has been changed. You have given me a very cordial greeting to-day, and we have at the present moment entered upon a contest on the basis of progress against what is termed retrogression. As you are no doubt aware, this is the last of the elections, and if we have any success on the petitions that have already been instituted against the return of several Bond members, we—the Progressives—shall be in a majority in the new Parliament. But really the whole fate of the country turns upon the issue of the election which is now taking place in this constituency. I hope that you will use your best endeavours to return the Progressive Candidates. (Cheers.) For if there is one part of the

country more than another which should give its undivided support to the cause and the party of progress it is, I firmly believe, this territory of Bechuanaland. That is, if you agree with me that it is better that you should live under the rule of Her Majesty than under the flag of the South African Republic. (Loud cheers.) That was the battle which was fought here nine years ago with the successful result that this country was saved and eventually added to the Cape Colony under Her Majesty's flag. Now, on Monday next, you have once more to decide, this time at the polling booths, whether that policy was right or wrong. (Cries of "Quite right" and cheers.) The issue before the country has been confused and complicated by the introduction of all sorts of side issues, but, squarely faced, the paramount question before the country which one has taken, and the old Cape Colony—the issues which are before you—involve not only the past but the future of this country. You feel with me that if the Bond party is returned to power it means the triumph of Krugerism in the Colony, and it means also the development of a line of policy tremendously hostile to the North. Well, we can break loose, for we are in no sense dependent on the South, but your case is very different. You recognise that the tie with the North is a growing one, and to you, in this part of the country, it means a great deal. You have lost a large portion of your cattle, but these will be renewed, and there is a daily intercourse going on between yourselves and the people of the North, in which lies the best hope for the future. Well, gentlemen, let me repeat to-day that it is the firm and settled policy of the party of progress to strengthen those ties in every possible way. (Cheers.)

Many of you will some day proceed to the North, at the same time keeping your tie with the South. Will you on Monday next declare that the policy of the Progressives is the right one, or do you believe in that alternative policy of the separation of the North from the South which must ensue upon a policy of hostile and provocative tariffs? That is the issue which I want you by your votes to decide, and I believe that you will give your answer with no uncertain voice in support of the policy of the Progressive party. And I believe that were it not for that wretched, miserable race-feeling which has been imported into this contest, the whole of this territory to a man would join with you in an unanimous verdict. (Cheers.) But owing to the machinations of those party leaders who have appealed, only too successfully, to the prejudice of the people, and stirred up a hostile feeling between the English and the Dutch, a large section of the electors have been blinded to the real issue. (Cheers.) Well, I trust that the people of this constituency at all events will face the situation fairly, and especially would I impress upon them that it is really very important which way they decide. Your two members may make all the difference, and upon your choice may depend whether the party of progress shall be returned to power, or whether a new Ministry shall be installed in office with whom the interests of the Transvaal Republic shall be first and paramount. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I anticipated in my anxiety to place the real issue clearly before you. I thank you once more for your cordial greeting. I regard it as a token of your recognition of my efforts long ago, when I was largely instrumental in making this territory a portion of the Cape Colony.

Looking at your faces I feel sure that you do emphatically prefer Her Majesty's rule to that of any other power."' (Loud cheers.)

Three cheers were given for the Queen, followed by a fresh outbreak of acclamation as Mr. Rhodes resumed his seat in the train.

At Vryburg, where he received a vote of confidence, both proposer and seconder being Dutch, Rhodes declared that Kruger was the greatest Raider in Africa.

On 6th September I find Rhodes back at Kimberley, sending the following cable message to General Kitchener: 'Glad you beat the Khalifa. We have just finished our elections and result promises to be a tie. I hear Frank is wounded. They certainly should now restore his commission; his heart is set on it. My telegraph will shortly be at south end of Tanganyika. If you don't look sharp, in spite of your victory, I shall reach Uganda before you.'

To this he received the following reply:—

'OMDURMAN, 26 *September* 1898.

'*From Sirdar to Rhodes, Groote Schuur.*

'Thanks. Frank well. Reinstated. My southern station Sobat. Hurry up.'

Rhodes, amid all his great enterprises, did not overlook minor matters of sentiment. I find him writing this year to a far-off official in North Eastern Rhodesia offering to pay for the upkeep of the lonely grave of 'Roza' (his brother Herbert), near the Shire River, and receiving the reply that an old native headman, who knew him, saw to it and would accept no reward.

Some few extracts from his election speeches may

be preserved from the scrap heap to which all such ephemeral literature ultimately goes.

In several passages he described his past work—his prevention of German and Krugerian extension, and his schemes for Afrikander union. In this connection he said: 'If it had not been my good fortune to think of those questions while looking for diamonds, there is not the slightest doubt that these territories would have passed to other European Powers. I do not claim any credit—I simply say that they were the thoughts that came to me—that is all. You may discover the microbe of the rinderpest, but I defy you ever to find the microbe of the human imagination. You do not know where it comes from, but it comes and the thoughts come, and you are moved as a human atom to carry out those thoughts; and all that I can say is that before and during the period when I was your Prime Minister these thoughts came to me, though later, gentlemen, changes have been brought about owing to my own fault. I lost my position through my acts, but I am now simply putting this to you that, during the period while I had the responsibility, and questions occurred which I dealt with, I think that I dealt fairly with them, and long, long after you and I are dead I think history will say that certain big questions were dealt with by me for the benefit of the country at large.'

In connection with a discussion on the value of Rhodesia, Rhodes said: 'Any farmer in asking him (Rhodes) about the country would ask if there were many natives, and if he replied, "Yes," the farmer would say that it was a good country. The natives had always selected the best land, and here he would like to relate a charming story of the member for Piquetberg (Mr. D. C. de Waal). Mr. de Waal's people were

abusing him for having anything to do with him (Rhodes), but he replied, "You know that Rhodes has taken a country twice as big as the Cape of Good Hope, and we shall get that. So far as Rhodes is concerned, he will only get six feet by four." ' (Laughter.)

In even lighter vein he remarked, ' Once, as you know, Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and myself were all in the Cabinet, and we used to have a good deal of chaff together. Mr. Merriman had a way of giving nicknames to everybody. I was called "the young burgher," because at a banquet in Johannesburg, at which Kruger was present, when some one—I think it was the then Minister of Mines—had been talking a great deal about the old burghers, I said, in reply, that for my part I was a young burgher. (Laughter.) Mr. Sauer's name was "the bumbler." (Loud laughter.) Why he was called "the bumbler" I hardly know—(laughter)—but I think Mr. Merriman must have invented the name for him because he was sometimes so mixed that he did not know his own politics. At all events he has remained "the bumbler" down to the present day. (Loud laughter.) But I think the most amusing nickname of all was the one Mr. Merriman fastened on to his present friend Mr. Hofmeyr. I remember that he always used to say "How is the Mole to-day?" It struck me as rather a happy invention, so one day I inquired from Mr. Merriman what he meant. "Oh!" he exclaimed, "I call him the Mole, because you never see him, but you know he is somewhere near; there is a little heap of ground thrown up which tells you he has been there, but you never see him." (Loud laughter.) There is a good deal of thought in that one word, because if a party has ideas it should have a leader, and that leader, instead of burrowing under-

ground like the mole, should appear on the surface, so that you may hear the language and arguments with which he is prepared to support his position as the leader of his party.'

And this is perhaps new :—

'I honestly believe that my years of trouble have made me a better man. I had had a life of uninterrupted success, and then I had two years of considerable trouble, and I found, if I might put it to you personally, that I had an individuality that could stand trouble. I can tell you rather a good story. When I was proceeding from Salisbury to Bulawayo I was continually receiving telegrams from a gentleman who came from Mr. Farrar, then in gaol, stating that he had a most important message for me. This went on for some time, while the fighting was going on in the North. Ultimately I met him, and he gave me the message. It was this: "Don't bother about me. Do your work. I have found out one thing—that there are those who are men and those who are monkeys." (Loud laughter.) I don't know under which of these he placed me, but I do say that my two years of trouble have made me a better man—(cheers)—and I am determined to go on with my work, the work of forming a railway junction with Egypt—(loud cheers)—and the work of closer union in South Africa.' (Renewed cheers.)

On 17th September Rhodes addressed the electors of Port Elizabeth, where he met with a great and generous reception. He judged it necessary to speak plainly, as the domination of Kruger in the politics of the Cape Colony had been naked and unashamed. The following is an extract from the *Times* :—

'I will admit this—that there is one just complaint

against me—the unfortunate incident in the Transvaal. But if you go into details it will be brought home to you in the clearest light that the coming Prime Minister (Schreiner) once felt that the conduct of the Transvaal Government was so hopelessly bad that he was prepared to go to war with them—(cheers)—and that the coming Commissioner for Public Works (Mr. Merriman) had encouraged the people in Johannesburg to fight the question out, expressing the hope that they had no corns on their hands. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, that was the position. Two members of the coming Ministry were equally desirous that Kruger should either change or disappear. On hearing this the Dutch people naturally said, " Well, then, what are we fighting with Rhodes about? (Cheers.) At any rate Rhodes has given us a new country, where our people can live on equal terms and with equal rights; why should we drive this man out of the country and put in a Bond Ministry, two of the members of which are equally desirous that Kruger should disappear, one stating it openly and the other stating it by means of confidential communications? " (Cheers and laughter.)

'Now one of the accusations made against me—and made even by my friends—is that I have no right to interfere with Port Elizabeth in the present election. I will put to you the case very fairly. After considerable thought I have come to the conclusion that in our politics, with the points before us, there is no room for three parties—(cheers)—that it will take us all our time to beat Krugerism, which I have already described as Afrikanderism upon the basis of the Transvaal—(cheers)—which simply makes difference between those who are born here and those who come here. We can see no difference. (Loud cheers.) That is

what we are fighting, and we cannot afford to have a third party. (Cheers.)

'What is your great desire? (Several cries of "Progress.") Yes, progress, and that you should be properly represented in Parliament for progress. (Loud cheers.) Your desire is that you should have proper representation in your councils, so that you will progress, and lead the Dutch—the progressive Dutch—to go with you. (Loud cheers.) Now let us look at last session. We had the Redistribution Bill, which was carried. As soon as it was carried the leader of the Bond in the House, Mr. Schreiner, found out that some of the Independents did not like the Government. They said that Sir Gordon Sprigg was this and that Sir James Sivewright was that, and so he put forward a motion of no confidence. He carried it and by what vote? By the vote of the Independents —(cheers)—by the votes of Mr. Hay, Mr. Wiener, Mr. Solomon, Mr. Beard and Mr. Molteno; in fact, all the Independents except their leader. (Cheers and laughter.) Just look at my point. You had your chance of proper representation in Parliament, and the Bill was actually carried, whereupon the Independents voted "No confidence," and now we are fighting the election over it. And suppose that we are beaten, you will be without your proper representation for the next five years, and to whom do you owe this position? To the Independents again. (Cheers.) I can respect your Bondsmen, and I can fight your Bondsmen. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I am a Progressive—with the Progressive party—(renewed cheers)—and I am going to fight on their side whatever my position may be. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) But these Independents! I cannot stand them. (Cheers and laughter.) But I

know exactly what is going to happen, and I am going to make a prophecy. I only hope that the Independent here is not going to be returned. (Cheers, and voices "No fear.") Well, the number of them is small, and they are going to end in the arms of the Bond. (Cheers and laughter.) That is my prophecy. Of course they will give all sorts of reasons for their attitude. They will say that they are going to hold the balance between the two races; that they are going to avert bloodshed. But how absurd all this is. I have been amongst the Dutch people, and I know there is not the slightest desire for bloodshed. All this comes from Camp Street; that is where all this talk comes from. (Loud cheers.) Why, the country people, the Dutch people, have not the slightest idea of it. (Cheers.) They say with regard to the Transvaal—the Progressive Dutch say—they want a change in the conduct of the Transvaal as much as we do. (Loud cheers.) But the Independents are to hold the balance, though I am not at all sure that we will not find the old gentleman in Camp Street (Hofmeyr) will hold the balance. I have marked them down in that character, and every Independent I place a cross against, meaning that whenever the contest is over we can count them as with the Bond. I know that you are all strong in the hope that the Progressive party may win. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) You need not think that I have indulged in this speech against Independents without due thought. When I look back and see that they have wrecked the principle of redistribution; when I know that they, and especially your member—(groans)—nearly upset the railway to the North, and kept you out of communication for a whole year, I think I have a right to speak. (Loud cheers.) I am not afraid of the Bond party.

(Cheers.) Day by day I have gone amongst the Dutchmen in many parts of the Colony, and have found that they are with me—(loud cheers)—and I know I can work with them again. (Renewed cheering.) But I know we have to defeat Krugerism as applied to this Colony. (Cheers.) That is the idea, to keep the power in the hands of a few people subservient to the power of Camp Street, and that is what we are fighting in this election. (Cheers.) And we are going to win.' (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

He concluded by saying, 'There is another very big question—an approaching question—the question of union, or South African federation. (Loud cheers.) That federation is very close. By federation I mean that the native question, the laws and the railways should be dealt with together. Local questions should be dealt with by the local States. The solution does not rest with me; it is being discussed elsewhere to-night. If we could look to-night into the various mining camps hundreds of miles away, we should see strong men returning from their daily toil. On them depends federation. (Cheers.) If that country is rich, the prize of Africa will be the North. (Loud cheers.) If you will not have it, Natal will federate to-morrow; and I can state here that if I am driven away by a Bond Ministry under Hofmeyr management, I shall turn my thoughts to Natal. I am determined to have union. (Cheers.) Some people say, "But how about the Transvaal, situated as it is between the Colony, Natal and the North?" I do not consider the Transvaal of to-day. I am thinking of the next twenty-five years when the new population must have a position. If we get Natal the other States must fall in. (Cheers.) Now you are beginning to follow my thought. The

question is: Will the Cape, by its own conduct, be left out in the cold? ("No, no.") The people in the North are not going to have any feeling for a State in the South which is not necessary to them, and which is dominated by the tactics of the Bond. Assume that a Bond Ministry gets into power. In your responsible position I talk to you boldly. I must speak out. (Cheers.) I see the danger that is coming. My North is all right. No human beings could have better prospects. Five hundred thousand miles of territory with a loyal people. (Cheers.) You might fairly say, "Why don't you go there?" I will tell you why. I am determined not to leave the South till I see you are clear of the risk of being dominated by Krugerism.' (Loud cheers.)

The Bond, while perfecting their own political organisation, deeply resented the attempt of their political opponents to do the same. Mr. Schreiner, elected by Bond support, permitted himself to use language which even a general election hardly justifies. In his address of thanks he exclaimed, 'You have shown by placing us closely together by a very large majority at the head of the poll—an exceptionally heavy one—that, while you condemn the false doctrine that the intrusion of unjustified force provides a satisfactory remedy for tardy growth of enlightened political institutions, you equally condemn the more insidious doctrine that, under the cloak of constitutional methods, capital perverted from its proper uses may hope to succeed in attaining objects which conspiracy and violence have failed to compass.'

A large discount must of course be deducted from election oratory of this nature.

As Mr. Edward Dicey said of Rhodes in the *Fort-*

nightly Review of October 1898, 'His support of the Uitlanders cannot be regarded as a criminal offence,' so it may be said of his support of his party at the polls.

When the elections were over it was clear that parties were very evenly balanced. Several prominent members lost their seats, and numerous petitions were lodged against the return of others. The first session of the new Parliament met on 7th October and elected a Speaker in the person of Dr. Berry, the Progressives thus weakening their available number by one. The House met again on 10th October for the transaction of business, when Schreiner promptly moved a fresh vote of 'No confidence.' Several moderate Dutchmen were at the outset inclined to the policy of giving the Government a fair trial, but Mr. Innes refused to be a party to the arrangement, and the fate of Sir Gordon Sprigg was sealed.

The debate was over in an hour, Schreiner being almost the only speaker and Sprigg disdaining to reply. One Bond and one Progressive member were absent, but otherwise it was a full House and the Government were defeated by thirty-nine to thirty-seven, Rhodes, of course, voting with his party. The Progressives still possessed a small nominal majority in the Legislative Council, but Sprigg resigned without delay, although some of his followers were for fighting in the last ditch by forcing the Opposition to refuse supply.

The local press was severe on Innes for deserting his uncle, Sir Gordon Sprigg, and reminded him of Lincoln's sage advice not to swap horses while crossing a stream. Schreiner had some difficulty in forming a Cabinet, and the inclusion of Mr. R. Solomon as Attorney General, fulfilled the cynical comment made by Rhodes that every Independent was a Bondsman at heart.

The *Times* asserted that Hofmeyr was the real head of the Ministry, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* asked how long Schreiner would last against Rhodes in one House and a hostile majority in the other. History has answered the query. The Ministry lasted for twenty unhappy months, and would not have lasted ten had Rhodes not been locked up in Kimberley.

On 17th October the new Premier made a statement of policy, to which Rhodes gave an energetic reply. A Redistribution Bill was promised, so as not to break faith with the Resolution of the previous Parliament, but it was speedily apparent that it was intended to be an illusory measure, adding to the size of the House, but not redressing admitted inequalities. On 19th, and again on 27th October, there were unusually stormy scenes in the House over this measure. Rhodes again spoke and at his suggestion supply was refused. On 25th October he addressed an immense meeting in Cape Town, and urged the absolute necessity for a better representation of the people. It was a good fighting speech and enthusiastically received.

Four days later Schreiner, unable to carry any Bill that would not benefit the other side, foreshadowed the postponement of the measure till a future session, remarking that he was no believer in 'government by counting heads.' On 2nd November, when, in accordance with this policy, he moved to adjourn the debate, the voting was thirty-nine to thirty-nine, and the Ministry were only saved by the Speaker's casting vote.

By the irony of fate this, of all days, was the day when the Governor and High Commissioner, in response to a request from Her Majesty's Government, sailed for England in the *Scot*, leaving behind him an excited Parliament, a discredited Ministry, and great and general

public uneasiness. The position of Transvaal affairs must, indeed, have been critical to warrant his enforced absence at this juncture. Two days later, a proposal was made for a conference between leaders. Schreiner opposed, a tie was again the result, and this time the Speaker decided against the Government, and the Motion was carried.

On 7th November the Premier asked for a vote on Supply before the Conference, but Rhodes was inexorable, and Schreiner submitted. In the end, the Conference was held and an agreement reached, which was estimated to add nine Progressive and five Bond members to the House. No wonder that *South Africa* declared that Ministers 'were in office on sufferance'; indeed, on a question relating to the Ocean Mail Service, they were beaten on 11th November by thirty-nine to thirty-six.

On 21st November Rhodes made an excellent speech, mainly on non-party lines, taking the House into his confidence on the subject of Northern expansion.

On 25th and 29th November there were angry debates in the House over the Meat Duties Bill, Rhodes, on the latter occasion, being present and speaking. On the question that the debate be adjourned, the Government majority was only two.

On 2nd December the Premier endeavoured to rush a Rhodesian Appellate Jurisdiction Bill through the House, and was accused hotly by Rhodes of wanting in courtesy in not previously consulting either the Rhodesian Government or himself. Innes, on this occasion, supported him, and between them, after a warm debate, they forced the Premier to agree, though with a bad grace, to report progress. The debate was resumed on 5th December, when Rhodes, who was

still sore, remarked, 'The position taken up by the Prime Minister is such that it is hopeless to expect from him any consideration for the Territories with which I am connected.'

The same day on the Meat Duties Bill the Government, on a division, could only muster thirty-six supporters to thirty-six on the other side, and on the following day they were actually defeated, the votes being thirty-seven to thirty-six, Rhodes voting with the majority.

On several subsequent days an examination of *Hansard* shows that Rhodes was in attendance, and on 15th December he brought forward an important Motion for the prosecution of Irrigation Works, which Schreiner at first resisted, but, later, on his agreeing to introduce a Bill during the ensuing session, the Motion was withdrawn. Rhodes's speech exhibited his far-sighted grasp of the most essential problem then and now facing the Cape Colony—the vital necessity for the conservation of water; and it is to be noted that this is the last occasion on which he addressed the House during the session.

On 19th December, on a question of reducing by £100,000 a vote for the Table Bay Harbour Works, the Government were defeated by thirty-two to twenty-eight, and four days later Parliament was prorogued by the Acting Administrator, leaving the Government battered and shaken, and apparently unable to carry any contentious business.

Before Parliament finally rose, Rhodes, having presented the city of Cape Town with a fine statue of Van Riebeeck, the first Dutch Governor, and completed his scheme for planting a settlement of loyal Fingoes in Rhodesia, with ten acres of land for every adult male,

proceeded to Kimberley. There he applied himself to the selection of candidates for the new seats in the Assembly, and to preparing his defence to an election petition raised against his own return.

On 19th December, he presided at the annual meeting of De Beers Mines, and on 28th of the same month he again sailed for England in the mail steamer, arriving there on 14th January 1899.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY (1899)

Importation of arms—Rhodes not a believer in war—Rhodes busy in London—Visits Egypt—Interview with the Kaiser at Berlin—Arrangements arrived at—Interview with King of the Belgians—Made D.C.L. by Oxford—Attends Chartered meeting—Overflow meeting—Rhodes back in Cape Town—Public addresses—House of Assembly—Rhodes speaks repeatedly—Growing uneasiness—Heated political debates—Renewed importation of arms—Exodus from the Rand—Cape Government weak and vacillating—Parliament dismissed.

TOWARDS the close of 1898 and partly as a result of the overthrow of the Progressive Ministry at the Cape, affairs in the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The Boers were now fully armed, and with rifles to spare for outside friends. No less than 147,000 Mauser rifles passed into the Republic in one year *via* Delagoa Bay (E. T. Cook), and on 28th December a Dutch paper, *De Rand Post*, openly advocated the shooting down of all critics of the Government. The anxieties and responsibilities of the High Commissioner, advised as he was by a Bond Government at the Cape, became overwhelming. A vast majority of Colonists now believed war to be inevitable, and it has always been an unexplained problem why Rhodes himself continued to express a contrary view—a view he backed with his money, and lost.

A then Cabinet Minister writes to me, 'It was in the year of the war, Rhodes and I met at Windsor on the occasion of the Royal County Show. We returned to London by the same train, and while the train was

getting ready we walked up and down the platform together. Rhodes suddenly stopped, turned round and looked me in the face, and said, "How much longer are you men (meaning the Cabinet of which I was a member) going to allow Kruger to humbug you? He is only bluffing, and if you were to employ your troops you could undoubtedly bring him to subjection." This is interesting, as showing how little even he realised how serious the war would be.'

In a cablegram to Beit (undated, but apparently despatched during 1899) he said, *inter alia*, 'Kruger will yield everything the Home Government demand. The Cape Ministry are sitting tight. Our party will leave them alone as long as they leave the Governor alone, which I think is their policy. The Government are entirely in our hands, as we have a majority in the Legislative Council pledged to do as we require. We can even throw out Estimates in the Council, and the Government are not at all sure of the effect of another appeal to the country, as we have improved our position on registration. Remember that Kruger, if the Home Government are firm, will in the end give way. All they need do is to continue preparations as openly as possible. Nothing will make Kruger fire a shot.'

This fallacious estimate of the real position is one of the curiosities of history, but it was deliberately made and must here be recorded. Many influential members of Dutch descent were undoubtedly striving for peace. Ex-President Reitz, writing to me on 10th January, said, 'May God grant your prayer for the growth everywhere in South Africa of peace and goodwill. With His help I shall still strive to promote brotherly love amongst the different national elements that have made this Land of Good Hope their home.'

Peace, however, was not to be had, so long as the sinister figure of Dr. Leyds loomed large on the European horizon. His visits to various Chancelleries will perhaps some day afford the historian material for an interesting chapter.

On the 23rd January Rhodes wrote to me from the Burlington Hotel that the whole of the new issue of the Chartered Company had been enormously oversubscribed. He was less successful, however, in a strenuous effort he made to induce Her Majesty's Government to give a financial guarantee for the further prosecution of the Cape to Cairo Railway—a guarantee which would have enabled him to borrow money on easy terms. It was in connection with this abortive negotiation that he always subsequently described the then Chancellor of the Exchequer as a man of no imagination.

A private correspondent in London writing to me towards the end of January remarked, 'Rhodes is in capital form, and back to the position he was in before the Raid. He has had the whole story about Gladstone, Rosebery and himself republished, which I regret, but he is so surrounded by people ready to lick his boots, that he is apt to have his better judgment warped. However, he is a great man and all will come right. He has settled many important matters, and talks of going to Egypt next month.'

The *Times* of about this date said of him, 'Mr. Rhodes's presence in England is now becoming a matter of annual recurrence. Every year, when the prorogation of the Cape Parliament sets the local politician free, the prosecution of larger schemes brings the statesman to the centre of the Empire. Each visit is connected with some special piece of

work, and his visit this year is no exception to the rule. The dream of a complete line of British communications by railway and telegraph through Africa, from south to north, which ten years ago appeared to represent the imagination of a visionary, has by the late events in the valley of the Nile been brought within a measurable distance of realisation. The whole public is now able to perceive the goal at which Mr. Rhodes's Imperial ambition aimed when ten years ago he came to England for the purpose of obtaining a Royal Charter for the British South Africa Company. He told his friends then that the project in his mind was to unite South Africa locally by a federation of the Colonies and States, and to bind the federated entity to the Empire by a chain of British communication which should stretch unbroken from the Cape to Cairo. Reverses, obstacles and failures, in which he has openly acknowledged his own share of shortcoming, have but strengthened his determined grip upon the scheme of his life's work. All is not done, but his measure of success has been on the whole remarkable. The end has never been abandoned, and step by step advance is made towards its attainment. He confidently hopes to carry through the federation of the British States of South Africa in the near future, and the chain of communications by which the federated States are to be held in touch with British influence north of the Equator approaches by practical stages to its completion.'

Early in February 1899 Rhodes visited Egypt, and on his way back touched at Berlin on 10th March, where, on the following day, he was received by the Kaiser, with whom he had a forty minutes' audience. On the evening of 14th March he dined with the British

Ambassador at the Embassy, both the Kaiser and Kaiserin being present, and on the following day an agreement was reached on the subject of the African Transcontinental Telegraph Company which, as he told an interviewer, he carried away in his pocket signed by himself for the Company, and by Richthofen, Von Buchka and Sydow for the German Government.

I imagine that a verbatim report of the interview between Rhodes and the Emperor will never see the light of day, but there is reason to believe that during their conversation the Emperor asked for his opinion of his famous 'Kruger telegram' at the time of the Raid, and that Rhodes replied, 'I will tell you, your Majesty, in a very few words. It was the greatest mistake you ever made in your life, but you did me the best turn one man ever did another. You see, I was a naughty boy, and you tried to whip me. Now, my people were quite ready to whip me for being a naughty boy, but directly *you* did it, they said, "No, if this is anybody's business, it is *ours*." The result was that your Majesty got yourself very much disliked by the English people, and I never got whipped at all!'

Be this as it may, Rhodes came away with a vivid impression of the Kaiser's great personality, and ever afterwards spoke of him with respect and admiration, and as a memento of the visit founded scholarships at Oxford for German students, leaving the selection entirely in His Majesty's hands.

A correspondent writes to me: 'At a visit which I paid to Sir F. Lascelles in April 1899, he mentioned that the Emperor was delighted with Rhodes, and expressed strong regret that he was not his Prime Minister, called him a reasonable man, and said he

offered every guarantee before it was required, and thus left nothing to be demanded. He added that he was in favour of according Rhodes hearty support in his scheme for carrying his Cape to Cairo line across German territory, but his Ministers could not rely on the Reichstag, which was not yet permeated by an Imperial spirit.'

It was on the morning after this dinner that Rhodes received the following brief note, 'SIR,—By command of His Majesty the Emperor I have the honour to send you the accompanying portrait.—PLATEN.'

Finally, however, later in the year, an agreement was arrived at between Germany and the British South Africa Company, dated Berlin, 28th October 1899, and signed by Von Bulow. The terms were as follows:—

1. In the event of the Company constructing a line across its western boundary or through Bechuanaland at any point south of 14th degree S. latitude, such crossing of the boundary shall only take place at a point of the British-German boundary S. of the degree of latitude agreed upon: so that the continuation of the Company's railway system to the West African coast, S. of the 14th degree, shall always pass through German territory.
2. Germany to be bound to link up the rails, in default of which the Company to have the right to build on German territory to the coast.
3. The B.S.A. Company not to connect with the coast north of the 14th degree S. latitude before the other connection is carried out.

4, 5. Contain provisions for a transit duty.

Rhodes's representative in Bulawayo writes to me that for various reasons the project for a Dam in the Matopo range hung fire for a while, but he adds, 'In

February 1899, I received the following laconic letter from Mr. Rhodes from the Savoy Hotel, Cairo :—

'"DEAR MACDONALD,—I have seen what water can do when it has brains and energy behind it. Begin the Matopo Dam at once. This letter is authority for Michell to finance you. The work is left entirely to you. Begin at once and have it ready for next season's rains. We must not let any floods go to waste. The contracts are left to you; you have my authority to go to work at once."'

While on the Continent, Rhodes also had an interview with the late King of the Belgians, but found him an impracticable man to deal with. His letter to an exalted person, describing his interviews with both monarchs, would make interesting reading were publication permissible.

On his return to England Rhodes saw a good deal of Lord Kitchener, of whose powers of organisation he held a very high opinion. They were in the habit of riding together in the Park of a morning, and in the month of June they were at Oxford together receiving their D.C.L. Degree amid the most enthusiastic scenes on the part of the undergraduates.

On 2nd May an extraordinary general meeting of the British South Africa Company was held, to enable Rhodes to meet the shareholders and lay before them his views as to the future policy and prospects of the Company. Shareholders began to arrive at the Cannon Street Hotel soon after seven o'clock in the morning, and at noon, when the meeting was announced to be held, there was not a vacant seat in the great hall. A large force of the City police were in attendance. On the arrival of the directors, headed by the Duke of

Abercorn, who was followed by Rhodes, an extraordinary demonstration of enthusiasm occurred, which was repeated when the latter rose to speak.

In his opening sentences he declared that just before a speech such as he was about to make and to such a vast audience, he was the most unhappy man alive; and could feel sympathy with those of our forefathers who, in accordance with custom, made an oration on the scaffold just prior to their execution. It was a strange remark if we remember that, although he lived for another three years, this was his dying speech and confession, for he was never able to address his shareholders again. The speech will be found in 'Vindex,' and I will only subjoin the following extract respecting his recent interview with the Kaiser.

'But I was fortunate in this through the kindness of the German people—(cheers)—and owing to the character of the German Emperor, who, whatever might have been his feelings in the past as to certain little incidents—(laughter)—which resulted very unsatisfactorily to myself—(laughter)—and which he deemed it right to censure, is still a broad-minded man. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, when it came to the question of the development of Africa, and when I appealed to him in connection with the portion of Africa which is under his rule, he met one with a breadth of mind which was admirable, and afforded one every help to carry out one's plans —(cheers)—while duly safeguarding the interests of his people. I signed an agreement with his Minister within three days, providing for the telegraph line being extended throughout his territory, and though at the end of forty years the line passes into the possession of the Germans, still they are willing to maintain our through line at actual cost. (Cheers.) It was

a most just bargain on their part, because the custom of Europe is to levy blackmail in connection with every telegraph that passes through it, ably assisted by those of our own people who have invested their money in telegraphs. You may have noticed that Mr. Henniker Heaton has moved for a Committee in the House of Commons on this question, and you would be simply appalled at the telegraph charges which exist in the world. This enormous monopoly has risen up, and I am glad to see that some of our friends in the House of Commons are turning their attention to it. But in connection with the agreement I have mentioned, the German Emperor charged nothing for through telegraphy excepting the cost of the maintenance of the line. (Loud cheers.) I think that that is satisfactory, especially when you think that a few years ago this telegraph in Africa was considered a "wild-cat scheme." (Laughter.) It is no wild-cat scheme nowadays; if it was, I am sure that the German Emperor would not have lent himself to it. The question, however, is how soon will it be completed, and I think it will be three years; but I wish to point out to you that you will share in the result of that from a mercantile point of view, while the limit of demand on you for having a share in it will be confined to that which relates to your own territory.'

He afterwards dealt thus with the pregnant lesson that the rich but misgoverned Transvaal could not borrow money in Europe, although it was freely obtained by Rhodesia:

'There is a neighbouring State producing £17,000,000 of gold per annum; and what has it been doing? It has been around every Bourse in Europe for the last two years to borrow £2,000,000, and what

is the result? That it cannot do it. (Loud cheers.) It is causing unrest in Africa, and it will do so until those people who have been invited to develop the wealth of that country share in its civil rights. (Cheers.) There is a picture for you—a picture for the people of England. We, a small and new State, have obtained during the last seven weeks—including the funds necessary for administration, which were obtained shortly before that—nearly £10,000,000, while our friends adjoining us, producing £17,000,000 per annum, cannot get a State loan of £2,000,000 anywhere. Some of you may say that it is sentiment with us, but it is not sentiment with Berlin and Paris. (Cheers.) It is a matter of practical commonsense, and until our friends have changed their system they will not get European money. (Cheers.)

'I have said in simple language that the duty of our people is to occupy and administer new territories, and work up the wealth of those territories and distribute it throughout the world. I think that we have adopted this principle. At any rate we have obligations in every part of the world, and we have not lost our knack of administration. I can remember well talking to Mr. Gladstone about the various countries we have annexed, and he said, "My fear is that we have not the people to administer them." I replied, "There is no fear of that; if you will only take the countries, you will find people who are capable of administering them." (Cheers.) This view was brought home to me only the other day. I went to Egypt, where there are 8,000,000 of people governed by one man—Lord Cromer. (Cheers.) Civil administration, defence, irrigation, justice, he has to attend to it all, and in connection with all he is equally com-

petent. (Loud cheers.) We have not lost our capacity for administering new countries, especially if they are occupied by what are called the subject races.'

Rhodes subsequently found it imperative to address an overflow meeting on the staircase of the Hotel, where he was received with the same enthusiasm, and had to be escorted to his office by the police, the crowd showing no disposition to melt away, though it was long after the usual luncheon hour in the city.

While Rhodes was addressing his shareholders in London, the High Commissioner, who had returned to Cape Town, was penning his famous Despatch of 4th May, in which he gave a masterly presentation of the serious grievances of British subjects in the Transvaal, which led up to the Bloemfontein Conference (31st May to 5th June), on the failure of which war became inevitable.

Towards the end of June, a Kimberley correspondent informed me that there was an uneasy feeling current there as to coming events, and that De Beers Mines were quietly preparing for the worst.

About the same date a Pretoria correspondent wrote that the situation there was critical, and that unless prominent Afrikanders like Steyn, Hofmeyr and Fischer, would come up at once and urge moderation on the President, a struggle was bound to ensue.

Meanwhile Rhodes returned to the Cape by the steamer *Scot*, arriving on 18th July. During the voyage he had thought much on his Will, and its Scholarship provisions, and addressed a letter thereon to one of his friends, who was subsequently a Trustee of his Estate.

On 20th July he attended a mass meeting at the Municipal Hall, Claremont, when he received addresses

from a large number of public bodies. His speech covered a wide range and dealt with all the great South African questions of the day, venturing on a prophecy which has since been fulfilled, that the moment all white inhabitants of the various South African States were granted equal rights there would be a Federal Union. Referring to the Transvaal, he said, 'I should feel alarmed if the Czar were moving on Pekin, or the French on the Niger territories or Fashoda, but when I am told that President Kruger is causing trouble, I cannot really think about it. It is too ridiculous. If you tell me the natives of Samoa are giving anxiety to H. M. Government, then I will discuss the proposition that the Transvaal is a danger to our Empire.'

He was to be speedily undeceived.

On 14th July Parliament had been opened by Sir Alfred Milner, whose address was noticeable mainly for the fact that all references to the Transvaal were studiously omitted. Four days later, Sprigg pointedly inquired whether the Government proposed to submit to the House any motion having reference to the situation of affairs in the South African Republic.

Schreiner, in reply, read a Resolution of the House, dated April 1897, to the effect that peace could best be assured by the reciprocal observance of all obligations under Treaties, Conventions, and other agreements. The answer begged the question, but it served and the matter dropped.

On 26th July, in a debate on the Rhodesia Customs Duties Collection Bill, Rhodes, amid cheers, drew attention to the fact that the products of the Cape entered Rhodesia free of charge, whereas Cape products seeking a market in the Transvaal were heavily taxed.

The debate was continued on 31st July, when Rhodes again spoke with force and effect.

On 4th August, in the Budget Debate, he said he was confident as to the growth of the Colonial Railway revenue, provided the Transvaal question were settled, and he added, 'I am confident it will be settled—if the Imperial Government stands firm—and in two months, without firing a shot, assuming moderation on both sides.' He resumed his seat amid general cheers.

On 8th August, Schreiner made a violent attack on Rhodes, apparently for having described the atmosphere of the House as that of a human pigsty; but, in truth, the session throughout was one of unbridled turbulence, singularly at variance with the decorum generally prevailing in the Assembly.

On 22nd August, Rhodes again spoke on his favourite subject. 'As for the Transvaal question,' he said, 'I am perfectly clear that, as I have said before, there is going to be no bloodshed (cheers). If Kruger is a sensible man, he will climb down in the end, and there will be a settlement. The less we deal with that question in the House the better. Many of us have been burnt over it. (Laughter and cheers.) Many say the Transvaal must be an English-speaking community. Once the settlement is over, we shall be better friends in South Africa.' (Cheers.)

In the division that ensued, the consolidated Dutch vote went with the Government, who won by a majority of ten. The action of the House, of course, hardened Kruger's heart.

It may be mentioned here that Mr. Harry Escombe, one of the leading statesmen in Natal, shared the views expressed by Rhodes. Writing to him on 4th September

1899, Escombe said, 'My hope and belief is that Kruger will yield sufficiently to avert war, though not with a good grace.'

On 24th August, in an attack by Merriman on Rhodes, there was a violent scene, and even a Dutch supporter of the Government was moved to say, amid cheers, that he regretted the Treasurer should have spoken as he had, and hoped he would long remember the lesson he had received.

The next day, in reply to a question by Sprigg as to the quantity of arms and ammunition removed from the Colony to the Republic since 1st July, Schreiner admitted that the public were alarmed, especially by a large removal of arms to the Free State on the 16th July, but pleaded that he was trying in his own feeble way to do his duty in not very easy times and circumstances, and as a loyal and earnestly devoted subject of Her Majesty. It was a pathetic speech of a good man struggling with adversity and unequal to the task.

On the same day Rhodes made an excellent speech, free from rancour, on the taxation proposals of the Government.

On 28th August, Sprigg returned to the charge on the subject of the removal of arms, stating that in seven weeks 1,253,000 cartridges, 1100 guns, besides other munitions of war, had been permitted by Government to enter the Orange Free State from the Colony. He pointed out that even the Portuguese authorities at Delagoa Bay had acted more stringently. It was a statesmanlike and impressive utterance, to which for a while there was no reply, until, goaded by speeches from a succession of Opposition members, Schreiner at last arose and, as a diversion, attacked Rhodes, who had not spoken at all. Great uproar ensued, and

with a view to tranquillising an angry House, the Prime Minister finally read the following telegram from the President of the Orange Free State:

'With reference to the discussion regarding the importation of arms and ammunition for the Orange Free State, I believe that no assurance from any side is necessary to contradict the ridiculous, false, and malicious reports that there exists in the mind of this Government or this people any intention or contemplation of taking up weapons in any aggressive or offensive manner, against the British Government or any British colony or territory (Ministerial cheers). It is now as always our fixed principle that the Free State will never have recourse to weapons otherwise than when attacked or in defence of its rights or in support, or in fulfilment of its obligations (Opposition cries of "Oh"). I utter the desire of the whole of our people when I say that no means will be left untried by me to preserve peace in South Africa. I see no reason why those points of difference between the British Government and the South African Republic cannot be settled by peaceful methods, and I remain of the conviction that to have recourse to arms upon differences such as those which exist, would be to commit an offence against civilisation' (Ministerial cheers).

The Prime Minister went on to express his belief that this was a message of peace and not a message of war, and he therefore declined to do more than watch the further removal of arms. Yet he was within a few weeks of the launch of the Boer ultimatum, followed by the immediate siege of Kimberley!

A passionate debate followed. The House seemed charged with electricity. It was left to a shrewd private member to point out that President Steyn

distinctly stated that he would fight to fulfil obligations, *i.e.* obligations to the Transvaal, such as had already been contracted.

Schreiner finally tendered an apology to Rhodes, and, after Sprigg had drawn attention to the offensive and defensive alliance between the two Republics, the matter dropped, leaving a feeling of dismay in the minds of all loyalists.

On 30th August another heated debate took place on the alleged use of Transvaal secret service money during the recent Cape elections. Rhodes spoke at some length and averred that his opponent at Barkly West, a poor man, had been fed from that source; that he came, like a swallow, from Pretoria, and, when defeated, flew back there. He admitted having been sued for the statement, when the plaintiff claimed heavy damages but was awarded £5.

Colonel Schermbrucker specifically mentioned another constituency in which Transvaal money had been disbursed, and, after recrimination all round, the subject was allowed to drop.

The next day Rhodes, in more conciliatory mood, besought the House to get back to the practical business of the country, and his intervention expedited the passing of the Partial Appropriation Bill. The next day, on a Division, the Government had a majority of 7.

On 4th September there was a debate on the continued exodus coastwise of the inhabitants of the Transvaal, and Sprigg drew attention to an alleged further removal of rifles from the Colony, but the Premier denied having granted the necessary permit.

On the same day, on the Parliamentary Voters' Registration Bill, Rhodes is reported in Hansard as

saying that Schreiner, contrary to all his professions, was seeking to disfranchise the natives. 'Under one of the clauses,' he said, 'a regular examination has to be gone through (Cheers), and that means the absolute disqualification of every native. . . . (Cheers.) I am surprised to see the Attorney-General lending himself to this clause. . . . You have drafted a Bill which disqualifies the native voter and I wish the natives to wake up to the fact. . . . I shall fight this clause to the end.'

On 8th September, on the Grant of Lands to Native Chiefs Bill, Rhodes—always interested in native affairs—spoke with effect on the policy and advantage of keeping faith with natives. On 18th September he again spoke earnestly in defence of the native vote, and reasserted his belief in the principle of equal rights to every civilised man irrespective of colour. On a Division, however, Government carried the anti-native clause by a majority of 11, all the Dutch supporting Schreiner, and all the English supporting Rhodes and Innes.

But though now completely out of touch with the Dutch of the Cape Colony, his settlers of that nationality in Rhodesia adhered to him. On 15th September he received the following telegram: 'From Dutch settlers, Melsetter. Kruger's attitude and policy strongly condemned by our community here. You may place confidence in our fidelity.'

On 27th September, on the Voters' Bill, the Government majority fell to 9, afterwards rising to 13, but their principal financial measure was thrown out by the Legislative Council.

On 3rd October, when the shadows of impending war were deepening, a private member moved, 'That, in

the opinion of this House, steps should be taken to ensure the return to the Colonial side of the Orange River of all Colonial Railway Locomotive and Rolling Stock now running on the Netherlands and Free State lines.' Sauer replied that he had tried to get his trucks back but had received evasive answers, and an official return showed that while the Cape held only 187 trucks of other Administrations, they had 535 of ours.

The House, now thoroughly alarmed, passed the resolution unanimously, but it was too late. During the war that ensued, not only were the Burghers armed with rifles obtained from the Cape, but they entrained for the front in trucks belonging to the Cape Railways.

On 5th October the Orange Free State seized 800 tons of coal *en route* to the Colony, and though it was subsequently released, the blow fell a day or two later when the Transvaal authorities boarded the down train and forcibly removed raw gold to the value of half a million sterling, and robbed the mails of a further £45,000.

On 6th October Rhodes spoke on the Finance Bill—a final utterance. I do not find that he again attended any sitting of the House.

On 12th October Sir Alfred Milner dismissed Parliament, and Schreiner, in a parting speech, enunciated the remarkable doctrine that his efforts would be directed to prevent the Colony from being involved in the vortex of war—a declaration of neutrality which must have sounded oddly in the ears of loyal subjects of the Crown throughout the Empire. The House broke up in impotent wrath. Its conflicting ideals had paralysed its usefulness and this was perhaps the least satisfactory session in its long and hitherto unblemished career.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE SIEGE OF KIMBERLEY (1899)

Preparations for defence—A lion cub returned without thanks—Orange Free State and Transvaal drawing together—Against protests Rhodes throws himself into Kimberley—Boer Ultimatum—Martial Law—Attacks and sorties—Scott-Turner killed—Labram makes 'Long Cecil'—Boers reply with 'Long Tom'—Labram killed—Garrison resume the offensive—Furious fighting—General French arrives—Boers in retreat—Anecdotes.

THIS, as I have said, is not a history of South Africa, nor is it a history of the Boer War, nor even a chronicle of the siege of Kimberley, save in regard to the connection of Rhodes with that episode.

That a struggle was impending had for months been the fixed conviction of the vast majority of South African colonists. Rhodes, judged by his utterances, and Schreiner, by his actions, were notable exceptions.

So far back as 11th July the Queensland Government had offered the services of a contingent—a forecast of the enthusiastic support afforded later on to Great Britain by her Colonies, the significance of which was apparently overlooked at Pretoria.

On 19th July the Natal Parliament, untroubled by the racial divisions which paralysed that of the Cape, passed a unanimous resolution to stand by the mother country. No idle talk of neutrality marred their loyal action.

On 1st September several of the leading members of the Johannesburg press were placed under arrest, and

a week later 10,000 troops were ordered to South Africa. The inhabitants of Kimberley, unlike the Cape Premier, profoundly distrusted the assurances of President Steyn, and they sent Schreiner the following blunt telegram :—

'If you cannot, or will not, protect us, give us arms and we will protect ourselves.'

The answer received was to this effect :—

'There is no reason whatever for apprehending that Kimberley is or will be in any danger of attack and your fears are therefore groundless.'

Foiled in this direction, the Town appealed to the High Commissioner, nor was the appeal in vain. Major Scott-Turner had already been sent up by His Excellency to draw up a plan of defence and organise a Town Guard. On 13th September Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Kekewich arrived and took over the command. Kimberley would have been even more anxious than it was had the cables of that date between Leyds and the President been public property, but they were not published till they appeared in the *Volkstem* in November 1908.

Early in September Leyds had stated that Europe wondered why the Transvaal was losing time, and on 27th of that month he expressly advised the issue of an ultimatum, to be followed by an attack before England was ready.

On 15th September a Burgher of the Orange Free State, with British sympathies, wrote to me, 'I have sent my children to the Colony and there is a black mark to my name. The feeling has intensified enormously since you passed through, and men who were anxious

for peace are now clamouring for war. The strain is more than the country can stand for long, and our Mausers will soon go off by themselves.'

An incident during September has its humorous side. Rhodes, whether out of pure good nature or with a spice of irony, had presented the Pretoria Zoological Gardens with a fine lion cub. He now received the following amusing reply :—

'PRETORIA, DEN 25*th September* 1899.

'The Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes,
The Grange, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.

'SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that my Government and my Committee are highly displeased at my lion transaction concluded with you at your house on Friday, September 15th; they have forbidden me to keep the lion, and have ordered me to return it to you. I have made arrangements for feeding the lion well on the road down, and hope it will arrive in good condition.

'I regret exceedingly I accepted your generous offer, which I could have known would not be favourably received by my countrymen; but only my great desire to acquire the animal for our local Zoo, made me forget all existing differences.—I have the honour to be, Sir, Yours obediently, (*Sgd.*) DR. J. W. R. GUNNING,
'*Director of the State Museum.*'

On 27th September the Orange Free State Volksraad by resolution agreed to stand by the Transvaal, though curiously enough five days later President Steyn sent another very pacific telegram to the High Commissioner.

Kimberley, however, was now thoroughly aroused,

and strenuous efforts were made, not indeed by the Government but by the townspeople, to put the place in a position of defence. The volunteers were called out on 4th October, and on the following day the Town Guard and the Diamond Fields Artillery began to muster.

Rhodes, while still sitting in the House of Assembly, received the following letter from a colleague in Kimberley :—

'KIMBERLEY, 1*st Oct.* 1899.

'DEAR MR. RHODES,—I hear you are thinking of coming up to Kimberley about the end of this week. I have been thinking it over and the result is that I am writing you this note. I am not an alarmist, but I really think you should not think of coming up until the storm has passed. You know the Boers say everything *ill* that happens you are the cause of, and the coming war is put down to your account.

'We have heard more than once that there are men who, when war is declared, will be only too glad of the chance of murdering you.

'The whole world knows how you risked your life in the Matopos while we in fear and trembling were afraid you might stop a Matabele bullet. Now is it wise to run any unnecessary risk ?

'You have laid out a programme that *no* one but yourself can carry out. If anything should happen to you it would be a cause of rejoicing to a few thousands of ignorant Boers, but would cause world-wide sorrow, and would be a great national calamity.

'Everything that we can do will be done to protect the Company's property, and if our men have the chance they will show what they can do in the fighting line.

'I am writing as I feel so you must please pardon me.'

Many other representations, official and private, were made to him to the same effect, as Kimberley feared that the presence of their formidable townsman in their midst might accentuate the Boer attack, as it probably did. The following telegram reached him on 4th October :—

'*From Mayor, Kimberley, to Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes, Rondebosch.*

'*Confidential.* Citizens generally feel that your presence here would serve to induce a rush with view to do the town, your Company, and all our joint interests great damage. Under all circumstances would ask you kindly to postpone coming in order to avert any possible risks.'

His private secretary urged me to add my entreaties to those of other friends, which I did, until Rhodes put it to me on a point of honour. Kimberley, he said, had made him: was he, in its hour of distress, to be absent 'from its midst?' I could say no more, and he went.

The Boer ultimatum is dated 9th October and was to expire at 5 P.M. on Wednesday the 11th of the month. On the evening of the 9th, Rhodes and his friend, Dr. Smart, slipped away from Groote Schuur without giving notice to the guests staying in the house, and entrained at a wayside station without being observed. Their train was due to arrive in Kimberley an hour or two before the expiry of the Ultimatum, but owing to a slight accident *en route*, they were several hours late,

and, as the Boers were already closing in, they narrowly escaped capture.

It may be said at once that Kimberley was safe all through the siege from direct assault, for it numbered among its defenders 4500 good shots, and its capture would have entailed a much larger loss of life to the Boers than they were prepared to face. But the aggregate of its inhabitants, white and black, was roughly 45,000, and it ran great risk of being starved into submission. Its perimeter of defence exceeded eight miles, in addition to which it became necessary to hold the Premier Mine, another mine three miles away, as the town's only permanent water supply came from there. There was also the possibility of being shelled into surrender, but the place was known to the besiegers to be heavily mined and they were therefore content to keep their distance.

On 15th October, martial law was proclaimed by the officer commanding, and Rhodes tackled the difficult problem of how to keep 25,000 natives out of mischief. Those who cared to risk slipping through the Boer lines were encouraged to do so: the others were set to work to plant trees, make roads and clear ground for the erection of future suburbs. Strict discipline was maintained, and everybody placed on half rations: hospitals and soup kitchens were improvised, and all prominent buildings sand-bagged.

Throughout October the pressure by the Boers gradually increased, and in November the garrison found that the investment was complete. Rhodes still occasionally found an adventurous spirit to renew communication with the outer world, and rumours of relief ever and again deluded the town into the temporary hope that succour was at hand.

On 4th November Commandant Wessels summoned the garrison to surrender, and Colonel Kekewich in Homeric vein bade him march in if he could. The bombardment thereupon commenced, and it was judged necessary to make vigorous sorties from time to time, some of which led to the acquisition of both prisoners and provisions; but on 28th November the able and fearless second in command, Major Scott-Turner, was killed, to the lasting regret of Rhodes, by whom he was highly esteemed.

December was a month of gloom. The civil and military officers did not pull well together after Turner's death. Rhodes was the life and soul of the defence, but he was apt to forget that Colonel Kekewich was responsible to the Commander-in-Chief and could not delegate his authority even to a Privy Councillor. The De Beers Company spent money lavishly, only a small portion of which was subsequently repaid to them. Rhodes, with Dr. Smart, and a few personal friends, went the rounds daily, and his escapes were very numerous, as he persisted, in spite of protest, in wearing a conspicuous white suit. His favourite question to any fagged and anxious official was, 'Do you want anything?' Naturally replies were seldom in the negative. As a rule requirements were easily met, but on one occasion an artillery officer said, 'Yes, I want forty-three horses, sixty-two mules, seven waggons and four carts, to make my guns mobile.' He was rather surprised three days later to hear that they had all been delivered at his camp.

It is of course well known that the Boer artillery outclassed ours at the sieges of Ladysmith and Kimberley, and hence the prophets of evil consistently predicted the fall of both those places. A London

friend writing to me late in December, remarked, 'I am dreadfully anxious about Rhodes. All the officials of the War Office and outsiders combine in saying that Kimberley must fall. I refuse to believe it or contemplate the consequences, but people are already discounting the effect on the market of anything happening to Rhodes. It is agreed on all hands, that such a tragedy would send chartered shares below par.'

This refers to a current rumour that Rhodes, if captured, would be shot. I venture to characterise this as a baseless calumny. There are hot-heads in every camp, and judgment, not mercy, is the dominant note in war; but the Boers are a kindly people and, on the whole, they conducted the campaign with a moderation and restraint that is seldom to be found in the ranks of the most civilised and best disciplined armies on the continent of Europe. The following telegram, however, was afterwards picked up in Cronje's laager at Paardeberg.

'*October* 19*th*, 1899.

'*From Pretoria, Swemmer, to Express, Bloemfontein.*

'I trust my Free State brothers will not allow Rhodes to escape out of Kimberley. Your brothers on this side of the Vaal are standing firmly and watching. May God help us and the Free State to cast off the yoke of the English for good. For this purpose we offer, with God's help, property and blood.'

During December Rhodes had close conference with one of his American engineers, Labram by name. He appreciated to the full the competence and resourcefulness of trained Americans. His general manager, Mr. Gardiner Williams, who was one of them, proved

a tower of strength throughout the siege. Labram was another. As the result of much discussion, he offered to construct a powerful gun. He had no expert knowledge in any of the numerous processes involved, he had not even the necessary tools: but he was a man of genius and Rhodes was another, and the De Beers workshops, then standing idle, were at his disposal. On 27th December, 'Long Cecil' was put in hand, and on 19th January 1910, it was sending heavy shells into the Boer camps 'with C. J. Rhodes' compliments.' The incident has been narrated by abler pens than mine. It was a *tour de force*, a veritable triumph of mechanical genius over what appeared insurmountable obstacles, and it put heart into the somewhat despondent garrison. The Boer reply came on 8th February, when a sensation was caused by the besiegers, after incredible exertions, bringing a 6-in. Creusot gun to play upon the town. The next day Labram was killed and buried at night, amid a tornado of shot and shell. There was for a while a panic in the town, but Rhodes was equal to the occasion. The banks were closed, and people betook themselves to 'dug-outs' in the débris heaps. On Sunday, 11th February, a notice appeared, signed by Rhodes, offering shelter to women and children in the shafts and galleries of the mines. Food, light, and guides were provided, and ere sunset 2500 people were accommodated some hundreds of feet below ground.

One incident of the siege must here, in defence of Rhodes, be touched on. On 10th February he and the Mayor handed in a message to Colonel Kekewich deprecating further delay in relieving the town. In some manner, never satisfactorily explained, the summary transmitted to Lord Roberts conveyed the

impression that the town had decided to surrender, and the reply of the Field-Marshal was an earnest entreaty to hold out to the last. But there was no shadow of a threat to surrender in the original message.

On 14th February the garrison, far from losing heart, made an effective sortie and occupied Alexandersfontein, three miles away. The Boers brought up their artillery, and the struggle was furious and prolonged, but the garrison maintained the position. It is curious to note that their last movement was an offensive and not a defensive one. On 15th February —the 124th day of the siege—at 2.30 P.M., a large mounted force was seen approaching from the south-east. An Australian officer was the first to enter Kimberley, closely followed by a war correspondent, and shortly after 7 o'clock, General French was conferring with Rhodes at the Sanatorium. The long agony was over: the Boers were in full retreat, and the inhabitants of Kimberley had written one further inscription on the glorious roll of national history.

It was a characteristic note of the general confidence in Rhodes that, during the very crisis of the siege, a letter reached him from a neighbouring village, appealing to him for armed assistance, as they had 'been left defenceless by the Government';* and another letter of sympathy from outside, the writer of which, though a hard business man, signed himself, 'With undying attachment, your most devoted servant.' Who will say that, even in these prosaic days, sentiment counts for nothing? Even from the women entombed in the depths of the Kimberley Mine came the cheering message, 'Thanks for your many kindnesses received. We hope you are safe and well.'

Safe indeed, but far from well, and never again to

be well in this world. Undaunted in spirit, but broken in health and surrounded by many anxieties, Rhodes emerged from Kimberley a chastened, shattered man, with the sentence of death—a sentence of God and not of man—visibly imprinted upon him.

CHAPTER XXXVII

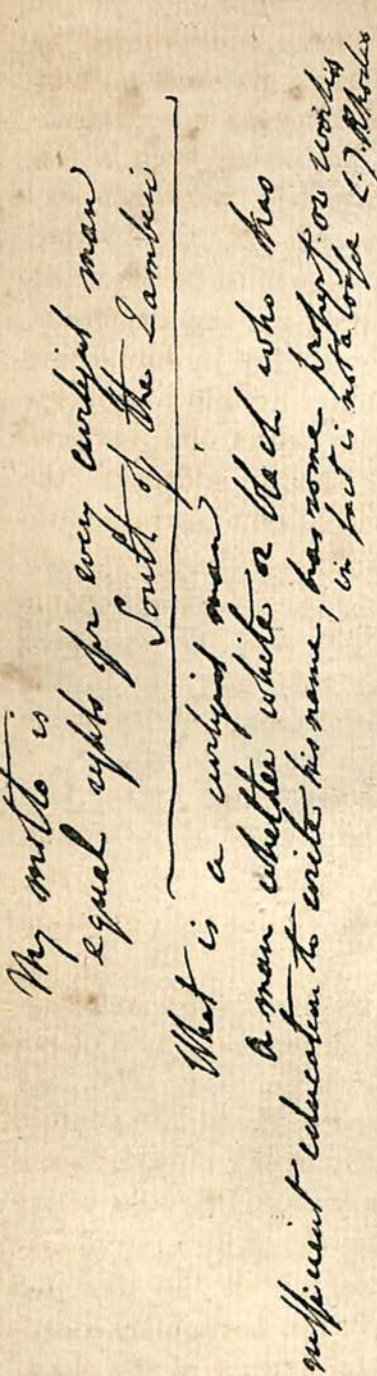
NEARING THE END (1900)

After the siege—Rhodes on Federation—Native Franchise—Lord Roberts on Rhodes—Addresses and appreciations—Supper at Oriel—Mining work resumed—Letter to Archbishop—Milner and Rhodes—Visit to England—Sir Frank Lascelles—Returns to the Cape—Visit to Rhodesia—Fall of Schreiner—Veiled disloyalty—Sir Gordon Sprigg—Jameson a candidate—Letters from supporters—South African League—Rhodes on Mugwumps—Donation to Cathedral—Cession of Barotsi territory.

A FEW days after the relief of Kimberley, Rhodes will be found presiding there at the Annual Meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. The meeting had been first called for the 27th November 1899, but thrice postponed owing to the exigencies of war.

His speech (23rd February 1900) deserves attention. His political sagacity had returned to him. Until the Ultimatum was launched, he held the view that President Kruger was 'bluffing' the British Government. He now recognised, with clearer vision, that the war, by solving many problems, would lead to South African Federation. The peace of Vereeniging was not yet in sight, but he expressed a very definite conviction that it was near at hand, and would usher in the union of South Africa.

'All contention will be over,' he said, 'with the recognition of equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi. That principle, for which we have been so long striving, is the crux of the present struggle, and my belief is that, when the war is over, a large


My motto is
Equal rights for every civilized man
South of the Zambesi
What is a civilized man?
A man whether white or black who has
sufficient education to write his name, has some property or earns
£100 a year

number of the Dutch in this country will throw in their lot with us on this basis, that neither race shall claim any right of preference over the other. We have no feeling against them. We have lived with them, shot with them, visited with them, and we find, owing I suppose to the race affinity, that there is not much difference between us. But they have been misled in Pretoria and Bloemfontein, and even in Cape Town.'

Although his speech, on the face of it, dealt mainly with the two white races, he adhered without flinching to his old formula that an educated coloured man should be permitted, if otherwise qualified, to exercise the franchise. When approached shortly afterwards by the coloured community on this point, he wrote his views, characteristically enough, on a scrap of newspaper, of which a facsimile is subjoined.

In this speech at Kimberley he used the phrase that for all commercial undertakings the best asset in the world

was Her Majesty's flag. Opponents endeavoured to twist this into an expression of rank materialism, but, of course, his meaning was not open to misconstruction on the part of any one possessing even a low average of ability. His shareholders were not exclusively British. Many thousands of them were subjects of France and Germany, who must be acquitted of any sentimental desire to promote the expansion of our Empire, but whose interests lay in supporting the authority of a pure and honest system of government. To them, from amid the debris of a battered but unconquered Kimberley, Rhodes addressed the pregnant question, 'Under which administration do you prefer to carry on your business: under the oligarchic rule of the Transvaal, or the just and capable jurisdiction of Great Britain?' And he answered his own question by asserting that nowhere in the world is a mercantile corporation surer of equitable treatment than under the British flag.

The truth of his answer is demonstrated by the fact that in every British Colony a large number of German and other Continental subjects reside and flourish under our rule without abating one jot of their affection for the country of their birth.

The efforts of Rhodes to keep the flag flying were recognised, even in despite of their differences, by Colonel Kekewich in his Despatch of 15th February 1900, and by Lord Roberts, who, in a Despatch dated 20th March, wrote: 'I would add that the citizens of Kimberley seem to have rendered valuable assistance. By the active part which he took in raising the Kimberley Light Horse and in providing horses for all the mounted troops in Kimberley, Mr. Rhodes, in particular, contributed materially to the successful defence of the place.'

The inhabitants of Kimberley were even more emphatic. The ministers of all the Free Churches addressed him as follows :—

'KIMBERLEY, *5th March* 1900.

'DIAMOND FIELDS MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION.

'*To the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, Kimberley.*

'DEAR SIR,—On behalf of the European, Coloured and Native Congregations to which we minister, we desire to express our hearty thanks to you and the Company of which you are the head, for all that you have done for the town during the four months' siege which has so recently been brought to a close.

'We feel that the town owes you far more than we can express. But we should not like the occasion to pass without assuring you of our appreciation and admiration of what you have done for the defence and comfort of the inhabitants during this time of severe trial. We are glad to know that a lasting memorial of Kimberley's gratitude is to be erected in the town. Meanwhile we venture to bear our testimony to the generosity and resourcefulness which you have manifested on our behalf.—We beg to remain, yours faithfully,

(*Sgd.*) JAMES SCOTT, Wesleyan Methodist Church.
C. MEYER, Lutheran Church.
W. H. RICHARDS, Presbyterian Minister.
HARRIS ISAACS, Jewish.
JOHN GIFFORD, Baptist Minister.
WILLIAM PESCOD, Wesleyan Methodist Church.
ARTHUR GEO. RENIER, Congregational Minister.
JOSEPH WARD, Wesleyan Methodist Church.
PETER MILNE, B.D., Presbyterian Minister, Beaconsfield.
A. J. LICHENBERG, Dutch Reformed Minister.

WILLIAM H. IRVING, Wesleyan Methodist Church.
J. S. MORRIS, Wesleyan Minister, Beaconsfield.'

The Malay community also sent him the subjoined address :—

'Thanks to the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes, P.C., M.L.A.

'From the Mahommedan Community residing in the Kimberley Electoral Division.

'HONOURED SIR,—We, the undersigned, representing the whole of the Mahommedan Communities residing in the electoral Division of Kimberley, viz.: Kimberley and Du Toits Pan townships, feel deeply the debt of gratitude we owe you who, with the assistance of Almighty God, came generously to our aid, when through the ill-advised and cruel action of the enemies of our beloved and gracious Queen we were laid under siege and deprived of all our accustomed means of securing a livelihood for ourselves and our wives and children, and all who are dependent on us for their daily bread.

'We all feel deeply and sincerely grateful to you, for we know that beyond question it is to your goodness of heart, coming forward as you did at a moment when starvation was staring us in the face, and providing us with work so that we could earn bread for ourselves and those dependent on us—and this too at a great cost of money, and expenditure of thought to yourself. We see in this the hand of God guiding you, and our prayer is that the great God may help you and the great work which you have undertaken in South Africa, giving you health and vigour to pursue that great work, and conferring His blessing and favour on the work at every step.

'We regard you as a father, caring for the lives and welfare of the Malay people, defending them from the

attacks, the very cruel attacks, made upon them by warlike savages during the long period of the siege. And believe us, Honoured Sir, you will be remembered in all our prayers, public and private, to Almighty God, to the end of our existence.

'It will always be met with thanksgiving to hear of your welfare, health and happiness, and to be assured that your great work is progressing well and effecting the glorious object you have in view.

'We have the honour to subscribe ourselves for and on behalf of the Mahommedan Community.—Your humble and obedient servants,

CHIEF PRIESTS OF BEACONSFIELD.
CHIEF PRIESTS OF KIMBERLEY.
PRIEST OF KIMBERLEY.
PRIEST OF KIMBERLEY.
SECOND PRIEST, KIMBERLEY.'

Nor was Rhodes forgotten across the water. On 21st February a friendly Don wrote to him from Oxford:—

'We had a big supper at Oriel at the end of last term to celebrate our winning the Association Football Cup. In proposing the health of the team, I alluded to the pleasure it would give Oriel men all over the world, *not forgetting one at Kimberley*. Then they stood up and cheered and cheered and cheered again.'

The *Evening Citizen*, a Glasgow paper, said a little later: 'Mr. Rhodes's services during the siege are scarcely yet appreciated at their proper value. In big things, as in little, it was he who kept Kimberley together. While chicken and suchlike delicacies lasted, he gave up his daily ration to the sick in hospital. He himself equipped four-fifths of the garrison, and his soup kitchen daily fed 10,000 people. During the terrible

days when Kimberley was bombarded by a 100-pounder gun at a range of two miles (not five as at Ladysmith), it was he who devised the scheme of sheltering women and children in the De Beers Mine, and he helped with his own hands to pass the children down to their underground shelter.'

On 7th March De Beers recommenced 'washing,' although mining proper was delayed for another month. Rhodes had proceeded to the coast on the 2nd of the month, filled Groote Schuur with visitors and invalids, but himself resided at the little cottage by the sea in which he ultimately died.

From there emanated the following brief note addressed to the Archbishop of Cape Town, for whom he entertained sincere affection as one who never hesitated to appeal to the spiritual side of his nature.

'MUIZENBERG, *March* 1900.

'MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—Thank you for your letter. I think matters are coming all right, though while everything is in the melting-pot there must be trouble. I often think that prayer represents the daily expression to oneself of the right thing to do, and is a reminder to the human soul that it must direct the body on such lines.—Yours, C. J. RHODES.'

Early in March the native inhabitants of several frontier districts telegraphed their earnest desire to receive a visit from Rhodes before he left for England, but the state of his health precluded him from complying with their request, and he sailed from Cape Town on 18th March, taking with him a cordial letter from the High Commissioner expressing the hope that the voyage would set him up.

Many efforts were made about this time to sow

dissension between Lord Milner and Rhodes, but they wisely arrived at a practical agreement to allow no such interested influences to prevail.

The visit of Rhodes to England was a brief one. A friend, under date 7th April 1900, writes to me: 'I met him at Southampton, and he is in good spirits, though far from well. We hope to get him thoroughly overhauled by the doctors. He will make but a short stay as he is very anxious to be again in Rhodesia.'

Under date 11th April, Sir Frank Lascelles wrote to him from Berlin on the subject of the war. 'Public opinion is dead against us, but the Emperor himself has been friendly throughout. He is dining with me on Tuesday, but it may not be so interesting a dinner as the one at which you were present.'

But neither friendly correspondents nor medical specialists could detain him, and in a fortnight he was again outward bound to South Africa. On arriving at Cape Town he found that the land route to Rhodesia was closed to him, as the war still dragged on, and the coastal service being somewhat intermittent, delay threatened in that direction. But, nothing daunted, he cut the Gordian knot by chartering a small steamer, in which he sailed for Beira early in May. Before the end of the month he was at Salisbury, from which centre he toured around Mashonaland, visiting Melsetter and other districts, and then proceeded to Matabeleland accompanied by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The Cape Parliament met on 20th July, but before that date the Schreiner Ministry had fallen in dramatic fashion, not by an adverse vote of the House, but by internal dissension and because the veiled disloyalty of the Bond was more than the Premier could stand.

The crisis came to a head in June, while Rhodes was

busy at Salisbury. He had decided to apply for leave of absence for the whole session, and though urgent appeals were despatched to him to come down and assume the reins, he declined to move, using an invariable formula, 'You can trust Milner.'

Thus on 2nd June he was advised of a recent 'scene' at a meeting of the Cabinet, when Schreiner, Solomon and Herold expressed moderate views, whereas Merriman, Sauer and Te Water were vehemently in favour of obeying the behests of the Bond. The telegram added that the organisation in question would vote solid against further support of Schreiner.

The precise ground of the quarrel was the introduction by the Attorney-General (Solomon), with his chief's consent, of an Act for the punishment of Colonial rebels. To bring matters to a head, the Premier convened a caucus meeting of his supporters in Committee Room No. 18. The discussion that ensued was a stormy one. A prominent Dutch member declared with passion that Schreiner would be guilty of shedding Afrikander blood. In the end a vote was taken. Only two of his colleagues and ten other supporters stood by him. The rest of the party, as had been foreshadowed to Rhodes, were solid against their hitherto trusted leader. The sacred right of rebellion was thus vindicated, and the mere 'neutrality' of Schreiner was deemed insufficient to warrant the retention of his services. To such a depth had fallen the great party once so loyal to Rhodes!

The episode was caustically commented on in the local press on June 11th, and the same day Schreiner tendered his resignation. Three days later it was officially notified in the *Gazette* that the resignation was accepted. Wild rumours were at once put in circulation

as to the composition of the new Ministry. In some quarters a coalition was advocated as the only solution. A round-table conference was suggested, but the Bond held aloof and would accept nothing short of an amnesty to rebels, whereas Schreiner had screwed up his courage sufficiently to propose their disfranchisement.

It is believed that for a day or two Mr. Rose-Innes was put forward as a possible leader, but ultimately Rhodes was asked by wire to pronounce his benediction on a Ministry, supported by Schreiner, in which Sir Gordon Sprigg was to be Premier, and Rose-Innes Attorney-General. His acquiescence was somewhat ungracious to the latter. 'I have no objection, and can swallow a mugwump if it will help the Governor.'

On the 18th June the new Ministry was sworn in, and Rhodes, to be out of the way of further molestation, betook himself beyond the reach of the wire. Before the close of the month, however, he was in Bulawayo. On 22nd June Dr. Jameson made his first appearance as Parliamentary candidate for Kimberley by addressing the electors in the Town Hall there. In his speech he thus referred to the tentative efforts previously made to place him in Parliament.

'Two years ago,' he said, 'at the General Election, I was invited to become a candidate for a Colonial constituency with every prospect of being returned, but on my arrival at the Cape I found that by many not very sturdy but very prominent Progressives my comfortable theory of oblivion was not believed in. It was represented that my candidature and, still worse, my election might damage the cause and further embitter racial feeling. Of course, I stood aside. Again last year, at the elections brought about by the

passing of the Redistribution Bill, the same result awaited me, after a 6000 mile journey. You see, I have been persistent, but fairly patient. Now I feel free to come forward in response to your requisition.'

The speech is still worth reading, but I refer to it only because there is evidence before me that timid members of the party urged Rhodes to veto the candidature, and that he again refused.

During July and August he continued to travel extensively in Rhodesia. On 2nd August he telegraphed to me from Salisbury: 'Sorry to miss you. Am going steadily through the country. The mines are promising.'

A few days later an influential member of the House wrote to him with gentle malice: 'I am afraid it will take another six weeks to carry the Rebel Bill. Hofmeyr is hard at work trying to smash up the Schreiner-Sprigg compact. If it were not for Milner he would succeed, for Sprigg is not in the same plane, for craft, as the other side. Innes is very happy. Everybody ladles treacle over him, and you can hear him purring all over the House.'

On 31st August, another staunch supporter addressed him at great length.

'My dear Chief,—I hear that we are to have the pleasure of seeing you before the session ends. In the first place, will you allow me to congratulate you heartily on the line of action you have this year adopted? You have done absolutely the right thing in having avoided the quarrelling on the Treason Bill, but I think you would be making a mistake if you did not put in an appearance before the session ends.

'The animus against you on the part of the rank

and file of the Afrikander party is wonderfully disappearing. Many—more than you think—no longer regard you with the old distrust, and I speak sincerely when I tell you that there are definite indications of a reaction in your favour.

'South Africa is not the unknown factor it once was, and he who can reunite its white races so as to make them no longer a source of suspicion to one another, or of danger to the Empire, is not going soon to disappear from the ranks of fame. Utopian as it may now seem to talk of reunion, I am *quite* sure that you can do so within the next six months, and I am speaking with more information than I care now to explain.

'Don't imagine that there are serious difficulties in the way. There is not the slightest need of any humiliating sacrifice on your part, as either the Great South African or as the still greater Imperialist.

'Rightly or wrongly, our Afrikander friends have regarded you as the one who has disunited them, and I know they now look to you to reunite them.

'I am now writing—a little in parables and absolutely in confidence—to give you some hints as to what I know is before you, and to ask you to pave the way for the great future you have practically at your feet.'

But Rhodes declined to be drawn, and although he was back in Kimberley on 28th September, and arrived in Cape Town early in October, and Parliament was not prorogued till the 15th of that month, I do not find that he took his seat in the House.

Before leaving Bulawayo, he had been drawn for the first and last time in his life into writing a preface to an excellent book of travel then about to appear. His unusual compliance was due to the fact that the author was a young man, and one who had exhibited, during

an arduous journey in Africa, a remarkable combination of pluck and common sense, that appealed strongly to Rhodes. The writer, in short, was Mr. E. S. Grogan, and the book was the now well-known work *The Cape to Cairo.*

The preface contributed by Rhodes was as follows :—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
BULAWAYO, *7th Sept.* 1900.

'MY DEAR GROGAN,—You ask me to write you a short introduction for your book, but I am sorry to say that literary composition is not one of my gifts, my correspondence and replies being conducted by telegrams.

'I must say I envy you, for you have done that which has been for centuries the ambition of every explorer, namely, to walk through Africa from South to North. The amusement of the whole thing is that a youth from Cambridge, during his vacation, should have succeeded in doing that which the ponderous explorers of the world have failed to accomplish. There is a distinct humour in the whole thing. It makes me the more certain that we shall complete the telegraph and railway, for surely I am not going to be beaten by the legs of a Cambridge undergraduate.

'Your success the more confirms one's belief. The schemes described by Sir William Harcourt as "wild cat" you have proved are capable of being completed, even in that excellent gentleman's lifetime.

'As to the commercial aspect, every one supposes that the railway is being built with the only object that a human being may be able to get in at Cairo, and get out at Cape Town.

'This is, of course, ridiculous. The object is to cut

Africa through the centre, and the railway will pick up trade all along the route. The junctions to the East and West coasts, which will occur in the future, will be outlets for the traffic obtained along the route of the line as it passes through the centre of Africa. At any rate, up to Bulawayo, where I am now, it has been a payable undertaking, and I still think it will continue to be so as we advance into the far interior. We propose now to go on and cross the Zambesi just below the Victoria Falls. I should like to have the spray of the water over the carriages.

'I can but finish by again congratulating you, and by saying that your success has given me great encouragement in the work that I have still to accomplish.
Yours, C. J. RHODES.'

On 10th October, Rhodes delivered an important speech at the Congress of the South African League, of which he had been elected President—a speech that traversed much debatable ground and dealt with all the South African problems of the day. His objection to lukewarm followers was amusingly stated at the outset.

'What,' he said, 'I would point out to you is that the practice in older countries having parliamentary government is to divide into two parties. In England there are Liberals and Conservatives. With us there are Progressives and the Bond. It should be distinctly understood, that you cannot sit on a fence. (Loud cheers.) You must take party government with its rules and bow to the majority of your party. If your conscience tells you that you cannot go with your party, your duty is to resign and ask your constituents to confirm your position or reject you. But

this is not my experience in this country. When first I entered the House it was considered the right thing to say you belonged to no party, and you would decide each question as conscience might direct. Well, it is an excellent theory, but it won't work. (Laughter.) Now I will tell you what happened in this country. You have heard that so-and-so, and so-and-so was the cause of the war. I will tell you the cause of the war. We had a party in the Assembly called Mugwumps, and they caused the war, and I will show you why.'

He then proceeded to show how on the Redistribution Bill, as introduced, the Progressives would have had the majority to which they were equitably entitled, but the Mugwumps wrecked the measure on a plea of conscience, and placed their own invertebrate party in power.

'I hold,' he added, 'that if we had carried the Bill, and had a majority in the House, Kruger would not have dared to throw down the gauntlet to Her Majesty's Government. These are hard facts, and so, in a way, we owe the war to the Mugwumps.'

He went on to congratulate the members of the League on having risked their lives for their opinions, and he strongly urged early preparation for the next general election. Recognising the obligations of capital, he declared that De Beers had done its duty in protecting Kimberley, and in founding a great Cold Storage Company to cheapen to the poor man the price of meat, which the exigencies of war had unduly raised.

'Well, gentlemen,' he continued, 'we have had a great battle, not with the Dutch—(cheers)—but with Krugerism. (Cheers.) We must say of this wretched racial feeling—we will have none of it. Let us drop

disputes, evacuate our hostile camps and work for closer union with one another and the mother country.'

Soon after delivering this speech, Rhodes was laid up with a bad touch of fever—imbibed no doubt during his recent Rhodesian tour—and it was not until 17th November that he was pronounced convalescent and able to resume his morning ride.

Even during this illness he was busy. Early in the month he gave £3000 towards the building of the Cape Town Cathedral, and a handsome Challenge Cup to the Frontier Districts Rifle Association in order to encourage accurate shooting. In December he collected a large number of Transvaal refugees and gave them a dinner at Groote Schuur, which he personally attended.

About this time an English correspondent writes to me, 'Lord Salisbury says, and I agree, that Rhodes should come out into the open and assume the Prime Ministership.'

A day after his address to the League a highly placed Dutch official, on reading it, wrote to Rhodes, 'I am always telling my Afrikander friends that you are their best friend, if they will only recognise the fact.'

Under ordinary circumstances there can be no doubt that Rhodes would have responded to the call, with what result it is idle to speculate. But imperative considerations of health intervened. He was under no illusions. His life's work was practically done. The inexorable shadow that stands ever closer and closer to us all was already beckoning him with decisive gesture, of the meaning of which he was well aware. For a while he struggled strenuously on, performing important duties with all his old masterful power, but the House of Assembly was to hear him no more: the shareholders in the great Corporations he had

created had no further opportunity of listening to his rough persuasive eloquence: the day was far spent and the night was at hand.

Towards the end of the year a general officer, who had made his acquaintance during the war, wrote to him, 'I told the Queen you and Gordon were the same man, but with different methods. This fairly made Her Majesty jump, but she saw the point. I gave her your message.'

A message—I venture to think—expressing his unfaltering loyalty to her throne and person.

Another correspondent writes to him from the Hague, 'I have just seen Kruger, Leyds, Fischer, Wessels, Wolmarans, Van Alphen, Boeschoten and others, and found them all obdurate except Leyds, who thought, if you came forward, you might do something.'

He was still deeply interested in securing official recognition of his rights over Barotseland, concerning which some doubts had arisen. On 7th December he was cheered by the receipt of the following communication from the Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia:—

'I arrived at Lealui on 7th October and have got both the new Concessions signed by Lewanika and seven of his highest chiefs with five witnesses. The full Council of twenty-seven Indunas was present at the three preceding Indabas and at the execution of the documents. . . . Both are on parchment and the king has duplicates.'

With this gleam of sunshine a stormy year drew to a close.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE LAST YEAR (1901)

Scholarship founded—Shangani Monument—Honoured Dead Memorial—Mowbray Hostel—Plague Camp—Chinese Labour—Meeting of S.A. League at Mafeking—Helps Kimberley Town Council—Visits Bulawayo—Speaks there—Plans a seaside residence—Troubled by forgeries—Visits England—Takes Rannoch Lodge—Visits Italy and Egypt—Returns to England—Purchases Dalham—Projects a Land Scheme.

THE year 1900 passed away, and it was well into 1901 before Rhodes succeeded in arranging his proposed visit to England. His final Will was already executed, and he dwelt much, and with satisfaction, on those of its provisions which dealt with his great Scholarship scheme. But he began to manifest feelings of pardonable curiosity as to how they would work in actual practice, that is, whether it would be feasible to elect his scholars by the joint decision of examiners, headmasters and schoolmates. The idea was novel, and some of his friends asserted that it would not work. To test the matter—if possible, in his own lifetime—he determined to found at once an experimental scholarship on the lines of his Will at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, an institution within his own Province, in which he took a strong interest.

On 28th February, therefore, he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Cape Town, as Chairman of the College Council, in which he offered a scholarship at Oxford, worth £250 a year, to come into immediate operation. After describing the method of election, he concluded with these words, ' I do not know whether

your governing body will accept this rather complicated scholarship, but it is an effort to change the dull monotony of modern competition. There must have been some pleasure in viewing contests in the Gymnasium at Athens. I am sure there is none in a modern competitive examination. But the more practical point is, do we, under our system, get the best man for the world's fight ? '

During March he was gratified at hearing that Tweed's bronze panels for the Shangani Monument were approaching completion, as he was anxious to erect in the Matopos a lasting memorial to Allan Wilson and his brave men who perished in the vicinity of the Shangani River.

With a similar desire to honour the fallen, he also threw himself into the project of erecting in Kimberley an ' Honoured Dead Memorial ' to Scott-Turner and those of his comrades who fell gloriously in its defence.

Few travellers now visit South Africa without paying a tribute of admiration to these magnificent structures.

In the same month he took steps to found at Mowbray, near Cape Town, a hostel or home for British immigrants—women who can thus, upon arrival in a strange land, be sure of a temporary shelter until they secure employment. The Institution, which is still in existence, is under the auspices of the South African Immigration Association, of which the devoted President is H.R.H. the Princess Christian.

About this time or a little earlier, he offered ground on the Groote Schuur Estate for the purpose of forming a Military Plague Camp, that dread disease having effected a lodgment at Cape Town. Many men—but he was not one of them—would have hesitated to allow

the formation of such a camp so near his own residence. The following letter bears on the case:—

'Base Commandant's Office, The Castle,
Cape Town, *April 6th*, 1901.

'*Proposed Camp at Groote Schuur.*

'From Base Commandant, Cape Town.
To Right Honble. Cecil Rhodes.

'Sir,—In reference to our conversation some weeks ago when you kindly gave permission to form a Plague Camp on your ground at Groote Schuur should it unfortunately be necessary to form a separate Plague Camp for soldiers, I am now writing to tell you how highly your liberality was appreciated by the General Officer Commanding the Lines of Communication and also by the Medical Military Authorities. Unfortunately we are unable to avail ourselves of your permission, as the Colonial Government are very averse to forming a Plague Camp on the site selected, and in deference to His Excellency the Governor's wishes the General has directed a site to be sought elsewhere.

'Again thanking you for the prompt and courteous way in which you met my request, and expressing my extreme regret that an ideal site for an infectious disease camp should be lost at the present moment.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(*Sgd.*) 'H. Cooper, Colonel,
Commanding the Base.'

On 22nd March Rhodes again visited Kimberley, working with great application there until 22nd May, when he went on to Bulawayo.

As dealing with the question, which subsequently assumed political prominence, of the proposed intro-

duction into South Africa of indentured Chinese labour, I may here quote the views of Rhodes. On 13th March 1901, the matter came before the Mashonaland Chamber of Mines at Salisbury, and the principle of Asiatic immigration was almost unanimously affirmed. The only dissentient speaker warned the Chamber that Mr. Rhodes, on more than one occasion, had strongly advised Rhodesia to keep the Chinese out of the country.

On 7th June 1901, Mafeking—a year or so after its relief—made a great demonstration of flamboyant loyalty under the auspices of the South African League. The gallant little town after all its sufferings may be pardoned, I think, for the vehemence of its patriotism. Otherwise one might be tempted to smile at the very stalwart resolutions adopted by the meeting. One was to this effect: 'That English be the sole official language in South Africa, and the medium of instruction in public schools.'

Another ran: 'That the suspension of Responsible Government in the Cape Colony for a time is imperatively necessary to secure peace and loyalty.'

A third resolution, carried unanimously, was as follows: 'That this meeting considers the suppression of the Bond, as a seditious organisation dangerous to the peace and welfare of the country, the first essential step to a satisfactory settlement.'

I quote these utterances as illustrating the depth of feeling on the part of British-born subjects of the Crown smarting under the strain of a great war, fomented and kept alive, in their opinion, by fellow-citizens, equally subjects, who gave to their Government at best lip-loyalty, and, in many cases, active resistance.

The meeting proceeded to discuss the position, assuming that their wishes were complied with, and, not

unnaturally, they decided that no one but Rhodes was capable of dealing, as Prime Minister, with the delicate situation.

His conception of his duties was, however, of a different nature. Studiously effacing himself so far as politics were concerned, he divided his time between Kimberley and the North.

At Kimberley he persuaded the De Beers Mines, notwithstanding their grave losses, to extricate the local Municipality from financial embarrassment by a grant of £8000 a year for three years, and then, on 22nd May, though the route was still somewhat unsafe, he proceeded to Bulawayo, arriving there with Dr. Jameson on 25th May. Five days later he met the Chamber of Mines, and early in June he made two short speeches on matters of local concern.

On 15th June he laid the foundation stone of the Volunteer Drill Hall and, in the course of a speech, dealt with various questions.

On the subject of the Charter he said, 'We—that is, the Chartered Company—are only temporary. We are preparing the way for you. We shall be only too ready to part with the position of administrators when you are ready for self-government.'

On the question of Federation he said, 'The consideration of statesmen will shortly be the unity of South Africa, and you must get ready for that. You must be prepared for the time when a scheme of federation will be submitted. . . . This great dominant North—and I call it a dominant North—with the Transvaal, will dictate the federation. . . . The whole situation lies with the Northern States and nothing can alter it.'

Regarding the part taken by the inhabitants of

Rhodesia, he said, 'If there is one thing that the people of this country feel, it is that they are assisting in a new development. I would put it to you that after all, even now at the saddest time, when you are worried—if I might put it so—with a scarcity of capital, worried with the many difficulties of a new country, would you prefer to be here or on the old spot that you came from, here sharing in the interests of a creation? This is surely a happier thing than the deadly monotony of an English country town, or the still more deadly mediocrity of a Karoo village? Here, at any rate, you have your share in the creation of a new country, you have to deal with those extraordinary questions which arise in a new country, and you have the proud satisfaction of knowing that you are civilising a new part of the world. Those who fall in that creation fall sooner than they would have done in ordinary life, but their lives are the better and grander. For myself, every time I go home it is a satisfaction to me to see the progress of the panels representing the death of Allan Wilson and his party. I hope shortly to be able to erect them in the Matopos. This is no new idea, as I am simply copying Mosilikatze (the first king of the Matabele). I found him sitting in his cave (where at his request they had placed him after his death) looking over the wide Matopos. It is the idea and the thought of the native Matabele—all we have done is to copy his thought, and if I could make a suggestion to you, it is that when a mausoleum is built the idea should be considered of recovering from the unknown veld the remains of the various friends of yours who, as Rhodesians, have fallen and are buried in different parts of the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Their graves are being well cared for in

the first instance, but protections fail, the wild beasts come in, and if you think of a hundred years hence, there will be little to record their existence. It is a question whether we should not take the opportunity of gradually with reverence collecting their bodies and placing them in a mausoleum in this country as a record of those who not only have done their best to assist in the creation of this new territory, but who also when called upon by their Sovereign to assist in the maintenance of the Empire's position in South Africa left their work and gave up their lives to prove that, wherever we live, as Englishmen we never forget our country.'

On 18th June, at the request of the Town Council, he inspected their farm, and on 21st June he presented the prizes at St. John's School and made an excellent speech.

'I hear,' he said, 'there are over 100 children in the school: six years ago there were only little barbarians in this locality. Education is the whole difference between barbarism and civilisation. This is perhaps the only country in the world where an attempt is being made to solve the religious difficulty in education, by allowing the children to be taught their different religions in the same school. If you children were at a Board School in England, you might hear a chapter of the Bible read, but if you asked the teacher, "What does that mean?" he would not be allowed to answer you. He can read the Bible to you, but must not answer questions. It is most ridiculous for one of the most advanced countries in the world. But we have a system, that for half an hour in the morning the clergy of each Church can teach their special dogmas to the children of the members of their congregations, but the boy whose father does not want him to have any religious teaching does not get

playground—he gets geography. (Laughter.) We have, I believe, hit on a solution which is going to work. In England a Board School can have no religion. I think this is a mistake, just as I think it is a mistake in Australia, that they have excluded religion from the schools. It is an absolute mistake, because a child at school is at that period of its life when it is most pliable to thought, and if you remove from it all thought of religion, I don't think you make it a better human being.. I am quite clear that a child brought up religiously is a better human being. I am quite sure that to couple the ordinary school teaching with some religious instruction is better than to dismiss religion from within the walls of the school. Their school years are the years in which to tell the children that there is one thing in life better than material instruction, and that is religious belief.'

Let it be remembered that this was almost the last public utterance of a great man not over given to sentimental emotion, but who, after a stormy life, and within a few months of his own death, went out of his way to disclaim all desire for, or sympathy with, a national system of Godless education.

On 24th June, Rhodes was back at Kimberley on his way to Cape Town, and busied himself on the way down with the plans of a house he was proposing to build at St. James's near Muizenberg, a seaside resort of which he was becoming increasingly fond. On 2nd July, he arrived at Groote Schuur, but the next day he sailed for England, accompanied by several old friends. His equanimity was somewhat disturbed by an annoying incident of recent occurrence. On 5th June, I had been under the necessity of telegraphing to him that various forged bills, bearing his name were in circulation.

On 20th July, he arrived at Southampton and proceeded at once to London, where for a few days he transacted business, but declined to be interviewed on the plea that he was no longer a public man. He had, some months before, hired Rannoch Lodge, in Perthshire, from Sir Robert Menzies, and on 31st July he left by the night mail for that place, where he and a small party enjoyed the shooting. Even there, however, his thoughts were on his Will, and on 25th August, he addressed a remarkable letter to one of his designated Trustees, giving expression to the view he hoped and believed would prevail on his decease, as to the disposition of his surplus revenues after payment of the annual expense of his Scholarship scheme.

The keen northern air seemed to benefit him a little, but the improvement was only temporary. On 6th October, he was again in London on his way to the Continent, arriving at the Hotel des Thermes, Salso Maggiore, on 16th October.

Early in November, he was at Bologna, motoring from there to the Hotel de Londres, Verona, and proceeding on the 9th of that month to Venice. A fortnight later he was in Egypt, on his way to Khartum, but the heat affected his heart, and he returned to England before the end of the year. Meanwhile he was kept continuously posted in South African affairs by his numerous Colonial correspondents.

The following telegram was, I am sure, gratifying to him:

'RONDEBOSCH, CAPE TOWN, *August* 20, 1901.

'To Rhodes, Rannoch, Aberfeldy, Scotland.

'We have spent a very pleasant day at Groote Schuur, and much admired your charming house and place.

We much regret your absence. The Duchess is most grateful for the beautiful diamonds presented to her by the De Beers Company. I am writing this in your own room.

(*Sgd.*) 'GEORGE, DUKE OF CORNWALL AND YORK.'

But in addition to the suffering attending failing health, and to anxiety he felt at the unexpected prolongation of the war, he was for some months still worried by the discovery, time after time, of forgeries bearing his name. During September, I was under the necessity of advising him repeatedly on this painful subject, and the shock to his simple trustful nature was immense.

He found time, however, to pay his tribute of respect to the memory of the late Empress Frederick, as the following telegram will show :—

'Kaiserlich Deutsche Botschaft in London.

'Count P. Metternich, German Minister on special mission in charge of the German Embassy, presents his compliments to the Right Honourable Cecil Rhodes, and has the honour to inform him that he has been instructed to convey to him the thanks and warm appreciation of his Majesty the Emperor and King for the wreath which was sent on occasion of the funeral of the Empress Frederick. The wreath has been placed on the hearse of Her late Imperial Majesty.

'GERMAN EMBASSY, LONDON,
September 25th, 1901.'

On 21st November, writing to me from the Savoy Hotel, Cairo, he declared himself to be 'very fit,' but the whole tenor of his letter was so clearly designed to adjust various long outstanding business obligations

with as little delay as possible that I drew from it the mournful inference that he believed his time to be short.

On 3rd December, writing from the Dahabeah *Oonas* on the Nile, he was more specific. 'You will be glad to hear,' he says, 'I am better. The heart has quieted down, though I still have pain, which they say is the enlarged heart pressing on the lung. The great thing is rest.'

But rest was the one thing denied to him. About this time the Editor of a great London paper was writing, 'Won't you see Rhodes and tell him he *must* come back? —— says either Rhodes or suspension. You might tell him this. But he should be here soon. I have faith enough in that man to believe that he, and he alone, can end the war quickly and not disgracefully.'

While in Egypt, Rhodes lost no opportunity of studying its agricultural problems, believing that its immemorial experience might be serviceable to Rhodesia. Writing to his agent in Bulawayo in December, he said, 'With good land such as we have got, and plenty of water which we *will* have, for I mean to begin the extension of the catchment area in winter, there is no reason why we should not grow good crops, but we must begin with the water we have got, which will irrigate 300 acres.

'You and I,' he went on, 'will be the laughing-stocks of the country if, after spending twenty-five thousand pounds to get water, we have not the brains to find a man or men to use it properly, and make a success of the land. Let us set to work. I give you a free hand again, so get a good man. I will be with you in four months, and we will discuss what crops

to lay down. I think lucerne should be one of the largest.'

On one occasion he saw a mealie (Indian corn) which seemed to do well with very little water, and his practical mind at once seized on the likelihood of its being successful in Matabeleland, which had been suffering from a partial drought; and he ordered some of the seed to be sent to Bulawayo, to be planted on his farm, and then, if it turned out successfully, he desired that the seed should be distributed broadcast throughout the country. It was found that the grain was a good drought resister and came to maturity very rapidly, and it has now spread all over Rhodesia.

On the same visit, the idea struck him that the Egyptian donkey, though smaller in bone, was so much better in speed than the South African animal that it would be an excellent thing to cross the two breeds, and with this end in view, he bought two dozen good Egyptian stallions, and sent them to Rhodesia, where their offspring show to-day the great improvement of the imported strain.

The close of the year 1901 found Rhodes still in Egypt, but he returned to England in January. He had purchased from the Affleck family the estate of Dalham in Norfolk, believing that the keen air of the East coast enabled him to breathe with less difficulty.

In December, he sent to the *Daily Telegraph* copies of communications he had addressed to Lord Milner and Mr. Arnold-Forster, on the subject of Land Settlement in South Africa on the conclusion of the war.

His suggestions, which always had a practical basis, were to purchase land in the new colonies, *while it was cheap*, and to settle thereon time-expired soldiers, and especially Imperial Yeomanry, who would other-

wise have to be repatriated at great cost. He pleaded for an Imperial guarantee for £3,000,000, but other more elaborate and less convincing schemes prevailed, and the opportunity of trying an interesting experiment was lost beyond recall.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CLOSING DAYS

Suspension of the Constitution—Growing infirmity—Removal to Muizenberg—Letter to Archbishop—The Matopo Dam—Letter from a lady correspondent—Daily bulletins—Sufferings—Last hours—Death.

THE Cape Parliament, prorogued on 15th October 1900, did not meet again until 20th August 1902, thus violating the letter of the Constitution. But in the interval Martial Law prevailed and though, owing to a special agreement between the Cape Government and the Commander of the Forces, civil administration did not wholly cease, Parliament was not in a position to exercise its ordinary functions, for it was no longer supreme. Several of its members were under sequestration as 'suspects.' Some were fighting loyally for the throne; one, at least, was in the enemy's camp; but the bulk were sitting sullenly on their estates. To this pass had neutrality or muddleheadedness brought the great body of Dutch gentlemen who once were the devoted followers of Rhodes!

Under these circumstances, and as the Constitution had virtually suspended itself, there is much excuse for the action of those Colonists who now petitioned for a more formal but temporary abrogation of their cherished Constitution.

Foiled in their efforts to capture Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith, scattered into small commandoes by the overwhelming forces of the Empire, the Boers were now conducting a guerilla warfare, and conducting

it to a great extent in the Cape Colony itself, aided and abetted, covertly or openly, by British subjects of Dutch extraction.

A Report by General Smuts to his Government, published some years later, is conclusive on this point.

'Since the beginning of September 1901,' he writes, 'I have been in the following districts of the Colony.' He proceeds to enumerate twenty-eight divisions into which his mobile force had penetrated, and he names seven other districts visited by his lieutenants. It was, of course, manifestly impossible for these Raids to have been made with impunity without the secret co-operation of the inhabitants.

A petition presented to the Governor opened with the undeniable assertion 'That, owing to the prolongation of the war, His Majesty's Parliament in the Cape Colony has been unable to meet and the ordinary registration of voters, as provided for by law, has not been carried out. On these two questions the Constitution has been practically violated.'

The petitioners went on to recite that it would be idle to expect impartial legislation, or obtain an indemnity for acts committed under Martial Law, or confirmation of the unauthorised expenditure which it had been found necessary to incur. And they concluded, 'We are strongly of opinion that the proper solution of the problems now confronting the Colony is a temporary suspension of the Constitution for a period during which His Majesty would be enabled to deal with the existing difficulties, and afterwards to restore the Constitution as amended.'

The first signature attached to the document is that of C. J. Rhodes, who had returned to the Colony in

connection with the approaching trial for forgery, to which I have already alluded.

The suspension of the Constitution had much to recommend it, but the Colony was fairly divided on the subject and the petition was, wisely I think, rejected.

The evidence of Rhodes as to the forgeries could have been taken on commission, but he was true to his invariable policy of facing the music. In spite of the resistance of a London specialist and of Dr. Jameson, he sailed from Southampton on 18th January, promising to return on the conclusion of the trial.

It was evident on his arrival in February that he was desperately ill, the heat of the tropics having seriously affected him. It was pathetic to see him when he gave evidence at the preliminary examination, which resulted in the accused being committed for trial. In due time a conviction was secured, but Rhodes was, alas! no more.

During February he continued on occasions, as his physical strength permitted, to take an interest in public affairs. I was present at a Conference between Rhodes and a representative of Lord Kitchener to deal with an intricate question of Colonial accounts, and I never saw the financial genius and robust common sense of Rhodes shine with a steadier light. His mental powers were absolutely unimpaired, but his thoughts were for others, and he worked strenuously to settle all open questions and leave behind him a clear slate.

Abandoning Groote Schuur, he took up his residence in his humble cottage at Muizenberg, surrounded by three or four of his staunchest and most intimate friends. From there, in February, he addressed the

following kindly letter to the Archbishop of Cape Town :—

'MUIZENBERG, *February* 1902.

'MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I was glad to hear that the test for the scholarship passed off well, and up to the present there are no amendments suggested, but we must watch carefully and improve as we gain experience. I have been looking into the question and have an amendment to make. I find £250 per annum is sufficient for Oxford, but then the young fellow spends six months with his people. Our young South African will be without a home to run to and will have to pay for himself for twelve months as against the ordinary undergraduate who lives on his people for six months. I think therefore one must increase the scholarship to £300 per annum. I send you a cheque for £1800, which will provide for the next six years, by which time it is probable that the provisions of my Will may have come into force under which a continuance of *our* attempt is provided for.

'You will be glad to know that I have obtained from some friends a provision for a similar scholarship for the Kimberley Public School.

'I am thankful to you for undertaking the experiment which is a scholarship for a combination of mental, moral and physical qualities.

'Who knows it may be the grain of mustard seed which produces the largest tree ?—Yours,

'C. J. RHODES.'

The Archbishop, in sending me this letter, added : 'The last conversation I had with him was a few weeks before his death. It was known that his life was extremely uncertain, and I felt it was my duty to have

a conversation of a serious kind with him. This was too sacred for me to enter upon here. I need say only that he expressed himself most gratefully to me for what I had said to him, with the hope that he would see me again. This was never realised. I was shortly afterwards compelled to leave home, and when I returned I was not permitted to see him. He was then within a day or two of his end.

'Whatever Mr. Rhodes's faults may have been, I shall always believe that he was at heart a really religious man, and of his noble ideals and breadth of view there cannot, I think, be any doubt in any unprejudiced mind.'

Towards the end of February he summoned from Rhodesia the tenant to whom he had entrusted the work of cultivating the valley below his great Dam in the Matopos, and having signed a new agreement with him, he said to us, 'Now the Dam will be all right. I can see it will be a success. You have now the right man to work it.' His judgment has stood the test of time.

Early in March a daily bulletin of his condition began to be sent to England by cable, to meet the many urgent inquiries we were receiving from there. Thus on 4th March I find the following, 'He is distinctly worse.'

On 9th March he took to his bed. I am not sure whether he ever read the following letter arriving about this time from a lady for whom he had a strong regard.

'My dear Mr. Rhodes,—To my disappointment, I found on my return from Berlin that you had flown to sunnier climes and so I write this (much as I know you detest getting letters) to tell you that when lunching

with the Emperor at Potsdam, I gave him your message about the telegraph—he actually knew where Ujiji was! and said he had no idea the telegraph had got so far—and he was delighted. He talked of you with much admiration—and thinks you "a wonderful man" —and he was so interested in you and your interview with him. I told him I would tell you what he said. He was most kind to me and is as charming as ever—and we had a pleasant time in Berlin. Didn't you leave England sooner than you intended? It was a pleasure having that little glimpse of you and to see you looking so well. How I should like to be back at beautiful Groote Schuur! It was a delightful time I spent there—and I shall never forget your kindness to me.'

On 10th March a message was sent to London. 'Intellect quite clear. He went through all business matters yesterday with Michell.'

On 21st March the despatch from Dr. Jameson ran, 'Stevenson and I convinced case hopeless. It has lasted longer than we expected owing to extraordinary vitality, but the end is certain, though patient still anxious to sail on Wednesday.'

His sufferings were at times indescribably painful, and the administration of oxygen afforded him only very temporary relief. In lucid moments he continued to deal with questions that occurred to him with all his old force, endeavouring to the very last to make arrangements for the welfare of his friends.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th March, I sat for a while by his bedside, while Dr. Jameson, worn out by persistent watching day and night, took a short rest. The patient was restless and uneasy. Once he murmured, 'So little done, so much to do,'

and then after a long pause I heard him singing softly to himself, maybe a few bars of an air he had once sung at his mother's knee. Then, in a clear voice, he called for Jameson. I slipped away to my own house a few miles off, intending to return later in the evening, but within an hour came the fatal telegram that, to the accompaniment of the thunder of the surf breaking on the beach in front of his little bedroom, the greatest of modern Englishmen had passed away.

Opinions may reasonably differ as to whether the time has yet arrived to do adequate justice to the memory of Rhodes. It is a growing fame. When his foibles and his faults are all allowed for, there outstands the figure of a great and inspiring personality. One must, perhaps, be personally and thoroughly acquainted with South Africa to understand the depth of the mark he has carved on the history of the sub-continent.

I will not dwell on his simple but pathetic grave, placed far from the busy haunts of those he called in affectionate terms 'his people': nor on the memorials and statues that have already arisen to his memory in Cape Town, Kimberley, and Bulawayo.

It will be more to the purpose to say that he still lives in the hearts and imagination of colonists: that almost all our high and fruitful thoughts and acts of late years are traceable to his compelling example. South African mining, agriculture, and education, all owe their new life to his tenacity of purpose and his resourceful energy. His Scholarship Foundation, still in its infancy, may in time move the world, though as yet its potentialities are hardly realised beyond a narrow circle. Above all we have to thank Rhodes for his preservation of that immense territory called after

his name — a territory which in alien hands would have barred our further expansion northward, seriously shaken the prestige of Great Britain, and rendered nugatory all prospect of friendly union under the flag of England. We have also to thank him that throughout his career he preached in season and out of season the salutary doctrine of equal rights—a doctrine the negation of which drenched South Africa for nearly three years in the blood of its noblest sons.

Regard him as we may, with critical or uncritical eyes, we must all admit that he was a great Englishman and one of the few who have left a permanent mark on the Empire. For my own part I confidently leave his fame to the verdict of posterity.

APPENDIX

COPY OF THE WILL OF THE RIGHT HON. CECIL JOHN RHODES

I THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope hereby revoke all testamentary dispositions heretofore made by me and declare this to be my last Will which I make this 1st day of July 1899.

1. I am a natural-born British subject and I now declare that I have adopted and acquired and hereby adopt and acquire and intend to retain Rhodesia as my domicile.

2. I appoint the Right Honourable Archibald Philip Earl of Rosebery K.G. K.T. the Right Honourable Albert Henry George Earl Grey Alfred Beit of 26 Park Lane London William Thomas Stead of Mowbray House Norfolk Street Strand in the County of London Lewis Loyd Michell of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Banker and Bourchier Francis Hawksley of Mincing Lane in the City of London to be the Executors and Trustees of my Will and they and the survivors of them or other the Trustees for the time being of my Will are hereinafter called 'my Trustees.'

3. I admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matoppos in Rhodesia and therefore I desire to be buried in the Matoppos on the hill which I used to visit and which I called the 'View of the World' in a square to be cut in the rock on the top of the hill covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon—'Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes' and accordingly I direct my Executors at the expense of my estate to take all steps and do all things necessary or proper to give effect to this my desire and afterwards to keep my grave in order at the expense of the Matoppos and Bulawayo Fund hereinafter mentioned.

4. I give the sum of £6,000 to Kahn of Paris and I direct this legacy to be paid free of all duty whatsoever.

5. I give an annuity of £100 to each of my servants Norris and the one called Tony during his life free of all duty whatsoever and in addition to any wages due at my death.

6. I direct my Trustees on the hill aforesaid to erect or complete the monument to the men who fell in the first Matabele War at Shangani in Rhodesia the bas-reliefs for which are being made by Mr. John Tweed and I desire the said hill to be preserved as a burial-place but no person is to be buried there unless the Government for the time being of Rhodesia until the various states of South Africa or any of them shall have been federated and after such federation the Federal Government by a vote of two-thirds of its governing body says that he or she has deserved well of his or her country.

7. I give free of all duty whatsoever my landed property near Bulawayo in Matabeleland Rhodesia and my landed property at or near Inyanga near Salisbury in Mashonaland Rhodesia to my Trustees hereinbefore named Upon Trust that my trustees shall in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit cultivate the same respectively for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia.

8. I give free of all duty whatsoever to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider ample and sufficient by its investments to yield income amounting to the sum of £4,000 sterling per annum and not less and I direct my Trustees to invest the same sum and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it I hereinafter refer to as 'the Matoppos and Bulawayo Fund' And I direct that my Trustees shall for ever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit the income of the Matoppos and Bulawayo Fund in preserving protecting maintaining adorning and beautifying the said burial-place and hill and their surroundings and shall for ever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit the balance of the income of the Matoppos and Bulawayo Fund and any rents and profits of my said landed properties near Bulawayo in the cultivation as aforesaid of such property And in particular I direct my Trustees that a portion of my Sauerdale property a part of my said landed property near Bulawayo be planted with every possible tree and be made and preserved and maintained as a Park for the people of Bulawayo and that they complete the dam at my Westacre property if it is not completed at my death

and make a short line from Bulawayo to Westacre so that the people of Bulawayo may enjoy the glory of the Matoppos from Saturday to Monday.

9. I give free of all duty whatsoever to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider ample and sufficient by its investments to yield income amounting to the sum of £2,000 sterling per annum and not less and I direct my Trustees to invest the same sum and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it I hereinafter refer to as 'the Inyanga Fund' And I direct that my Trustees shall for ever apply in such manner as in their absolute discretion they shall think fit the income of the Inyanga Fund and any rents and profits of my said landed property at or near Inyanga in the cultivation of such property and in particular I direct that with regard to such property irrigation should be the first object of my Trustees.

10. For the guidance of my Trustees I wish to record that in the cultivation of my said landed properties I include such things as experimental farming forestry market and other gardening and fruit farming irrigation and the teaching of any of those things and establishing and maintaining an Agricultural College.

11. I give all the interest to which I may at my death be entitled in any freehold copyhold or leasehold hereditaments in Dalston or elsewhere in the County of London to my Trustees hereinbefore named Upon trust that my Trustees shall lease or let and generally manage but not sell the same and pay all requisite outgoings usually paid by me in respect thereof and maintain the same in proper repair and insured against fire And upon trust that my Trustees shall so long as any one or more of my own brothers and sisters (which does not include my sister of the half blood) shall be living pay the net income derived from the said hereditaments to such of my own brothers and sisters aforesaid as shall for the time being be living and while more than one to be divided between them in equal shares And shall after the death of the survivor of them such brothers and sisters hold my interest in the said estate and the rents and profits thereof Upon the trusts hereinafter contained concerning the same and inasmuch as those trusts are educational trusts for the benefit of the Empire I hope the means will be found for enabling my Trustees to retain my interest in the said estate unsold and with

that object I authorize and require them to endeavour to obtain at the expense of my estate a private or other Act of Parliament or other sufficient authority enabling and requiring them to retain the same unsold.

12. I give the sum of £100,000 free of all duty whatsoever to my old college Oriel College in the University of Oxford and I direct that the receipt of the Bursar or other proper officer of the College shall be a complete discharge for that legacy and inasmuch as I gather that the erection of an extension to High Street of the College buildings would cost about £22,500 and that the loss to the College revenue caused by pulling down of houses to make room for the said new College buildings would be about £250 per annum I direct that the sum of £40,000 part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be applied in the first place in the erection of the said new College buildings and that the remainder of such a sum of £40,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the aforesaid loss to the College revenue shall so far as possible be made good. And inasmuch as I gather that there is a deficiency in the College revenue of some £1,500 per annum whereby the Fellowships are impoverished and the status of the College is lowered I direct that the sum of £40,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the income of such of the resident Fellows of the College as work for the honour and dignity of the College shall be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the dignity and comfort of the High Table may be maintained by which means the dignity and comfort of the resident Fellows may be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 the remainder of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a repair fund the income whereof shall be expended in maintaining and repairing the College buildings. And finally as the College authorities live secluded from the world and so are like children as to commercial matters I would advise them to consult my Trustees as to the investment of these various funds for they would receive great help and assistance from the advice of my Trustees in such matters and I direct that any investment made pursuant to such advice shall whatsoever it may be be an authorized investment for the money applied in making it.

13. I give my property following that is to say my residence known as 'De Groote Schuur' situate near Mowbray in the

Cape Division in the said Colony together with all furniture plate and other articles contained therein at the time of my death and all other land belonging to me situated under Table Mountain including my property known as 'Mosterts' to my Trustees hereinbefore named upon and subject to the conditions following that is to say—

(i) The said property (excepting any furniture or like articles which have become useless) shall not nor shall any portion thereof at any time be sold let or otherwise alienated.

(ii) No buildings for suburban residences shall at any time be erected on the said property and any buildings which may be erected thereon shall be used exclusively for public purposes and shall be in a style of architecture similar to or in harmony with my said residence.

(iii) The said residence and its gardens and grounds shall be retained for a residence for the Prime Minister for the time being of the said Federal Government of the States of South Africa to which I have referred in clause 6 hereof my intention being to provide a suitable official residence for the First Minister in that Government befitting the dignity of his position and until there shall be such a Federal Government may be used as a park for the people.

(iv) The grave of the late Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr upon the said property shall be protected and access be permitted thereto at all reasonable times by any member of the Hofmeyr family for the purpose of inspection or maintenance.

14. I give to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider to be ample and sufficient to yield income amounting to the sum of one thousand pounds sterling per annum and not less upon trust that such income shall be applied and expended for the purposes following (that is to say)—

(i) On and for keeping and maintaining for the use of the Prime Minister for the time being of the said Federal Government of at least two carriage horses one or more carriages and sufficient stable servants.

(ii) On and for keeping and maintaining in good order the flower and kitchen gardens appertaining to the said residence.

(iii) On and for the payment of the wages or earnings including board and lodging of two competent men servants to be housed kept and employed in domestic service in the said residence.

(iv) On and for the improvement repair renewal and insurance of the said residence furniture plate and other articles.

15. I direct that subject to the conditions and trusts hereinbefore contained the said Federal Government shall from the time it shall be constituted have the management administration and control of the said devise and legacy and that my Trustees shall as soon as may be thereafter vest and pay the devise and legacy given by the two last preceding clauses hereof in and to such Government if a corporate body capable of accepting and holding the same or if not then in some suitable corporate body so capable named by such Government and that in the meantime my Trustees shall in their uncontrolled discretion manage administer and control the said devise and legacy.

16. Whereas I consider that the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire And whereas in the case of young Colonists studying at a University in the United Kingdom I attach very great importance to the University having a residential system such as is in force at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for without it those students are at the most critical period of their lives left without any supervision And whereas there are at the present time 50 or more students from South Africa studying at the University of Edinburgh many of whom are attracted there by its excellent medical school and I should like to establish some of the Scholarships hereinafter mentioned in that University but owing to its not having such a residential system as aforesaid I feel obliged to refrain from doing so And whereas my own University the University of Oxford has such a system and I suggest that it should try and extend its scope so as if possible to make its medical school at least as good as that at the University of Edinburgh And whereas I also desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking people throughout the world and to encourage in the students from the United States of

North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth Now therefore I direct my Trustees as soon as may be after my death and either simultaneously or gradually as they shall find convenient and if gradually then in such order as they shall think fit to establish for male students the Scholarships hereinafter directed to be established each of which shall be of the yearly value of £300; and be tenable at any College in the University of Oxford for three consecutive academical years.

17. I direct my Trustees to establish certain Scholarships and these Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as 'the Colonial Scholarships.'

18. The appropriation of the Colonial Scholarships and the numbers to be annually filled up shall be in accordance with the following table:—

Total No. appropriated.	To be tenable by Students of or from	No. of Scholarships to be filled up in each year.
9	Rhodesia	3 and no more.
3	The South African College School in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope	1 and no more.
3	The Stellenbosch College School in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Diocesan College School of Rondebosch in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	St. Andrews College School Grahamstown in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Natal	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New South Wales	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Victoria	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of South Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Queensland	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Western Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Tasmania	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New Zealand	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Quebec in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Newfoundland and its Dependencies	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Islands of the Bermudas	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Jamaica	1 and no more.

19. I further direct my Trustees to establish additional Scholarships sufficient in number for the appropriation in the next following clause hereof directed and those Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as 'the American Scholarships.'

20. I appropriate two of the American Scholarships to each of the present States and Territories of the United States of North America Provided that if any of the said Territories shall in my lifetime be admitted as a State the Scholarships appropriated to such Territory shall be appropriated to such State and that my Trustees may in their uncontrolled discretion withhold for such time as they shall think fit the appropriation of Scholarships to any Territory.

21. I direct that of the two Scholarships appropriated to a State or Territory not more than one shall be filled up in any year so that at no time shall more than two Scholarships be held for the same State or Territory.

22. The Scholarships shall be paid only out of income and in the event at any time of income being insufficient for payment in full of all the Scholarships for the time being payable I direct that (without prejudice to the vested interests of holders for the time being of Scholarships) the following order of priority shall regulate the payment of the Scholarships.

(i) First the Scholarships of students of or from Rhodesia shall be paid.

(ii) Secondly the Scholarships of students from the said South African Stellenbosch Rondebosch and St. Andrews Schools shall be paid.

(iii) Thirdly the remainder of the Colonial Scholarships shall be paid and if there shall not be sufficient income for the purpose such Scholarships shall abate proportionately; and

(iv) Fourthly the American Scholarships shall be paid and if there shall not be sufficient income for the purpose such Scholarships shall abate proportionately.

23. My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the Scholarships shall not be merely bookworms I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be had to (i) his literary and scholastic attainments (ii) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like (iii) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion

to duty sympathy for and protection of the weak kindliness unselfishness and fellowship and (iv) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in afterlife to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the Scholarships I record that—

(i) My ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of 4/10ths for the first 2/10ths for the second 2/10ths for the third and 2/10ths for the fourth qualification so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any Scholarship were 100 they would be apportioned as follows:—40 to the first qualification and 20 to each of the second third and fourth qualifications.

(ii) The marks for first qualification would be awarded by examination for the second and third qualifications by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates and for the fourth qualification by the head master of the candidate's school; and

(iii) The results of the awards would be sent simultaneously to my Trustees or some one appointed to receive the same I say simultaneously so that no awarding party should know the result of the award of any other awarding party.

24. No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a Scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

25. The election to Scholarships shall be by the Trustees after consultation with the minister having the control of education in such colony province state or territory except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned.

26. A qualified student who has been elected as aforesaid shall within six calendar months after his election or as soon thereafter as he can be admitted into residence or within such extended time as my Trustees shall allow commence residence as an undergraduate at some college in the University of Oxford.

27. The Scholarships shall be payable to him from the time when he shall commence such residence.

28. I desire that the Scholars holding the Scholarships shall

be distributed amongst the Colleges of the University of Oxford and not resort in undue numbers to one or more Colleges only.

29. Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained my Trustees may in their uncontrolled discretion suspend for such time as they shall think fit or remove any Scholar from his Scholarship.

30. My Trustees may from time to time make vary and repeal regulations either general or affecting specified Scholarships only with regard to all or any of the following matters that is to say :

(i) The election whether after examination or otherwise of qualified Students to the Scholarships or any of them and the method whether by examination or otherwise in which their qualifications are to be ascertained.

(ii) The tenure of the Scholarships by scholars.

(iii) The suspension and removal of scholars from their Scholarships.

(iv) The method and times of payment of the Scholarships.

(v) The method of giving effect to my wish expressed in clause 28 hereof and

(vi) Any and every other matter with regard to the Scholarships or any of them with regard to which they shall consider regulations necessary or desirable.

31. My Trustees may from time to time authorize regulations with regard to the election whether after examination or otherwise of qualified students for Scholarships and to the method whether by examination or otherwise in which their qualifications are to be ascertained to be made—

(i) By a school in respect of the Scholarships tenable by its students and—

(ii) By the Minister aforesaid of a Colony Province State or Territory in respect of the Scholarships tenable by students from such Colony Province State or Territory.

32. Regulations made under the last preceding clause hereof if and when approved of and not before by my Trustees shall be equivalent in all respects to regulations made by my Trustees.

33. No regulations made under clause 30 or made and approved

of under clauses 31 and 32 hereof shall be inconsistent with any of the provisions herein contained.

34. In order that the scholars past and present may have opportunities of meeting and discussing their experiences and prospects I desire that my Trustees shall annually give a dinner to the past and present scholars able and willing to attend at which I hope my Trustees or some of them will be able to be present and to which they will I hope from time to time invite as guests persons who have shown sympathy with the views expressed by me in this my Will.

35. My Trustees hereinbefore named shall free of all duty whatsoever at such time as they shall think fit set apart out of my estate such a Scholarship fund (either by appropriation of existing investments or by making other investments or partly in one way and partly in the other) as they shall consider sufficient by its income to pay the Scholarships and in addition a yearly sum of £1,000.

36. My Trustees shall invest the Scholarship fund and the other funds hereinbefore established or any part thereof respectively in such investments in any part of the world as they shall in their uncontrolled discretion think fit and that without regard to any rules of equity governing investments by trustees and without any responsibility or liability should they commit any breach of any such rule with power to vary any such investments for others of a like nature.

37. Investments to bearer held as an investment may be deposited by my Trustees for safe custody in their names with any banker or banking company or with any company whose business it is to take charge of investments of that nature and my Trustees shall not be responsible for any loss incurred in consequence of such deposit.

38. My Trustees shall after the death of the survivor of my said brothers and sisters hold my said interest in the said Dalston estate as an accretion to the capital of the Scholarship fund and the net rents and profits thereof as an accretion to the income of the Scholarship fund and shall by means of the increase of income of the Scholarship fund so arising establish such number of further Scholarships of the yearly value of £300 each as such increase shall be sufficient to establish. Such further Scholarships shall be for students of such British Colony or Colonies or

Dependency or Dependencies whether hereinbefore mentioned or not as my Trustees shall in their uncontrolled discretion think fit. And I direct that every such further Scholarship shall correspond in all respects with the Scholarships hereinbefore directed to be established and that the preceding provisions of this my Will which apply to the Scholarships hereinbefore directed to be established or any of them shall where applicable apply to such further Scholarships.

39. Until the Scholarship fund shall have been set apart as aforesaid I charge the same and the Scholarships upon the residue of my real and personal estate.

40. I give the residue of my real and personal estate unto such of them the said Earl of Rosebery Earl Grey Alfred Beit William Thomas Stead Lewis Loyd Michell and Bourchier Francis Hawksley as shall be living at my death absolutely and if more than one as joint tenants.

41. My Trustees in the administration of the trust business may instead of acting personally employ and pay a Secretary or Agent to transact all business and do all acts required to be done in the trust including the receipt and payment of money.

42. My intention is that there shall be always at least three Trustees of my Will so far as it relates to the Scholarship Trusts and therefore I direct that whenever there shall be less than three Trustees a new Trustee or new Trustees shall be forthwith appointed.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Testator The Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us both present at the same time who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses } C. J. RHODES.

CHARLES T. METCALFE,
P. JOURDAN,
ARTHUR SAWYER.

Jan 1900

Really January 1901.

On account of the extraordinary eccentricity of Mr. Stead though having always a great respect for him but feeling the objects of my Will would be embarrassed by his views I hereby revoke his appointment as one of my executors.

C. J. RHODES.

Witnesses
LEWIS L. MICHELL.
H. GODDEN.

America has already been provided for. C. J. R.

This is a further Codicil to my Will. I note the German Emperor has made instruction in English compulsory in German schools. I leave five yearly scholarships at Oxford of £250 per ann. to students of German birth the scholars to be nominated by the German Emperor for the time being. Each scholarship to continue for three years so that each year after the first three there will be fifteen scholars. The object is that an understanding between the three great Powers will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie.

C. J. RHODES.

Witnesses
G. V. WEBB.
W. G. V. CARTER.

ENDORSED ON BACK OF ABOVE

A yearly amount should be put in British Consols to provide for the bequests in my Will when the Diamond Mines work out: the above is an instruction to the Trustees of my Will.

C. J. R.

Jan/1901.

As a further Codicil to my Will I leave J. Grimmer ten thousand pounds and the use of my Inyanga farms for his life. This bequest takes the place of the previous written paper given to him.

C. J. RHODES.

Witness
W. G. V. CARTER.
H. GODDEN.

THIS IS A CODICIL to the last Will and Testament of me THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope which Will is dated the First day of July One thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine I appoint the Right Honourable Alfred Lord Milner to be an Executor and Trustee of my said Will jointly with those named in my said Will as my Executors and Trustees and in all respects as though he had been originally appointed one of my Executors and Trustees by my said Will And I associate him with my residuary legatees and devisees named in clause 40 of my said Will desiring and declaring that they and he are my residuary legatees and devisees in joint tenancy I revoke clauses 23, 24 and 25 in my said Will and in lieu thereof substitute the three following clauses which I direct shall be read as though originally clauses 23, 24 and 25 of my said Will :—

23. My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the Scholarships shall not be merely bookworms I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be had to (i) his literary and scholastic attainments (ii) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like (iii) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for the protection of the weak kindliness unselfishness and fellowship and (iv) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in afterlife to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the Scholarships I record that (i) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of 3/10ths for the first 2/10ths for the second 3/10ths for the third and 2/10ths for the fourth qualification so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any Scholarship were 200 they would be apportioned as follows—60 to each of the first and third qualifications and 40 to each of the second and fourth qualifications (ii) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows (that is to say) the marks for the first qualification by examination for the second and third qualifications respectively by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates and for the fourth qualification by the head master of the candidates school and (iii) the results of the awards (that is to say the marks obtained by each candidate for each qualification) would be sent as soon as possible for con-

sideration to the Trustees or to some person or persons appointed to receive the same and the person or persons so appointed would ascertain by averaging the marks in blocks of 20 marks each of all candidates the best ideal qualified students.

24. No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a Scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

25. Except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned the election to Scholarships shall be by the Trustees after such (if any) consultation as they shall think fit with the Minister having the control of education in such Colony Province State or Territory.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Eleventh day of October One thousand nine hundred and one.

Signed by the said Cecil John Rhodes as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament in the presence of us all present at the same time who in his presence at his request and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses. } C. J. RHODES.

GEORGE FROST,
FRANK BROWN,
Servants to Mr. BEIT,
26, Park Lane, London.

I THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope declare this to be a second Codicil which I make this 18th day of January 1902 to my Will which is dated the 1st day of July 1899.

1. I renew the statement contained in my said Will relating to my domicile.

2. I appoint the Trustees or Trustee for the time being of my said Will (hereinafter called 'my Trustees or Trustee') to be the Trustees or Trustee for all the purposes of the Settled Land Acts 1882 to 1890 and also for all the purposes of Section 42 of the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act 1881.

3. I devise free and discharged as hereinafter provided of all incumbrances created by me all my messuages lands and

hereditaments in or arising in the parishes of Dalham Gazely Moulton Ousden and Hargrave in the County of Suffolk and in the parish of Ashley in the County of Cambridge and in any adjoining or neighbouring parish or parishes and including the Manors of Denham Dalham-cum-Dunstall and Bovills and the advowson of Dalham Rectory and all my tithe rent-charge issuing out of any of my said hereditaments in any of the said parishes and all other the hereditaments forming my Dalham Hall Estate whether included in the purchase (now in course of completion) from Sir Robert Affleck Baronet or subsequently acquired by me (which messuages lands and hereditaments are hereinafter included in the expression 'The Dalham Hall Estate') to the uses and subject to the powers and provisions hereinafter contained that is to say—

4. To the use of my brother Francis Rhodes for his life without impeachment of waste With remainder.

5. To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male With remainder.

6. To the use of my brother Ernest Frederick Rhodes for his life without impeachment of waste With remainder.

7. To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male With remainder.

8. To the use of the devisees of my general residuary estate.

9. If any person hereby made tenant in tail male of the Dalham Hall Estate shall be living at or be born in due time after my death then I revoke the estate in tail male hereby limited to any and every such person and instead of and by way of substitution for the estate in tail male hereby revoked of any person I devise (freed and discharged as aforesaid) the Dalham Hall Estate (but subject to and in remainder after the estates preceding such estate in tail male) To the use of the same person for life without impeachment of waste with remainder To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male with the like remainders over as are hereinbefore limited after such revoked estate in tail male.

10. Whereas I feel that it is the essence of a proper life that every man should during some substantial period thereof have some definite occupation and I object to an expectant heir developing into what I call a 'loafer' And whereas the rental of the Dalham Hall Estate is not more than sufficient for the

maintenance of the estate and my experience is that one of the things making for the strength of England is the ownership of country estates which could maintain the dignity and comfort of the head of the family but that this position has been absolutely ruined by the practice of creating charges upon the estates either for younger children or for the payment of debts whereby the estates become insufficient to maintain the head of the family in dignity and comfort And whereas I humbly believe that one of the secrets of England's strength has been the existence of a class termed 'The country landlords' who devote their efforts to the maintenance of those on their own property And whereas this is my own experience Now therefore I direct that if any person who under the limitations hereinbefore contained shall become entitled as tenant for life or as tenant in tail male by purchase to the possession or to the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate shall attempt to assign charge or incumber his interest in the Dalham Hall Estate or any part thereof or shall do or permit any act or thing or any event shall happen by or in consequence of which he would cease to be entitled to such interest if the same were given to him absolutely or if any such person as aforesaid (excepting in this case my said brothers Francis Rhodes and Ernest Frederick Rhodes) (i) shall not when he shall become so entitled as aforesaid have been for at least ten consecutive years engaged in some profession or business or (ii) if not then engaged in some profession or business and (such profession or business not being that of the Army) not then also a member of some militia or volunteer corps shall not within one year after becoming so entitled as aforesaid or (being an infant) within one year after attaining the age of twenty-one years whichever shall last happen unless in any case prevented by death become engaged in some profession or business and (such profession or business not being that of the Army) also become a member of some militia or volunteer corps or (iii) shall discontinue to be engaged in any profession or business before he shall have been engaged for 10 consecutive years in some profession or business then and in every such case and forthwith if such person shall be tenant for life then his estate for life shall absolutely determine and if tenant in tail male then his estate in tail male shall absolutely determine and the Dalham Hall Estate shall but subject to estates if any prior to the estate of such person immediately go to the person next in remainder under the limitations hereinbefore contained in

the same manner as if in the case of a person whose estate for life is so made to determine that person were dead or in the case of a person whose estate in tail male is so made to determine were dead and there were a general failure of issue of that person inheritable to the estate which is so made to determine. Provided that the determination of an estate for life shall not prejudice or effect any contingent remainders expectant thereon and that after such determination the Dalham Hall Estate shall but subject to estates if any prior as aforesaid remain to the use of the Trustees appointed by my said Will and the Codicil thereto dated the 11th day of October 1901 during the residue of the life of the person whose estate for life so determines upon trust during the residue of the life of that person to pay the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate to or permit the same to be received by the person or persons for the time being entitled under the limitations hereinbefore contained to the first vested estate in remainder expectant on the death of that person.

11. I give all arrears of rents and profits due to me at my death and all shares and proportions of rents and profits not actually due but accruing due at my death and payable to my estate after my death from the Dalham Hall Estate but subject to payment of all outgoings properly chargeable against the same and not discharged in my lifetime and also all my wines liquors and consumable stores at my death in or about Dalham Hall and all my carriage horses harness and stable furniture and effects and garden and farming live and dead stock and effects which at my death shall be in or about Dalham Hall or the stables thereof or in or about any other part of the Dalham Hall Estate to my brother Francis Rhodes or other the person who at my death shall become entitled to the possession or to the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate.

12. I give all my plate linen china glass books pictures prints furniture and articles of household use or ornament which at my death shall be in or about Dalham Hall (hereinafter referred to as ' the heirlooms ') unto the Trustees named in my said Will and Codicil Upon trust that my Trustees or Trustee shall allow the same to be used and enjoyed so far as the law permits by the person or persons who under the limitations hereinbefore contained is or are for the time being in the actual possession or in the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate but so that the heirlooms shall not vest absolutely in any person being tenant in tail male by purchase who

does not attain the age of 21 years but on the death of such person under the age of 21 years shall go and devolve in the same manner as if they had been freehold hereditaments of inheritance and had been included in the devise in settlement hereinbefore contained. And I direct that an inventory of the heirlooms except such of them as from their trifling value or perishable nature or from any other cause it may be considered inexpedient to include in an inventory as to which I give full discretion to my Trustees or Trustee shall be taken in duplicate as soon as convenient after my death and each copy shall be signed by the person entitled to the use of the heirlooms therein specified and by my Trustees or Trustee and one copy shall be delivered to the person entitled to the possession of the heirlooms therein specified who shall sign a receipt for the same and the other copy shall be kept by my Trustees or Trustee. And I empower my Trustees or Trustee from time to time and until the heirlooms shall become absolutely vested to inspect the same and to provide for the custody preservation or restoration and repair and insurance thereof (so far as the same are capable of insurance) at the expense of the usufructuary but my Trustees or Trustee shall not incur any liability by neglect or omission so to do. And I declare that the heirlooms or any of them may from time to time with the consent of my Trustees be exchanged or the form or fashion thereof altered or other articles substituted at the expense of the usufructuary for the time being provided the intrinsic value thereof be not diminished and thereupon the inventories shall be altered accordingly And I declare that when a receipt as hereinbefore provided shall have been signed by the person entitled to the use of the heirlooms my Trustees or Trustee shall not be liable in any way for any loss damage or deception or for any omission to insure or any other omission or any unauthorised dealing or disposition therewith. And that my Trustees or Trustee may with the consent of any usufructuary or if there be no such person of full age then at their or his discretion let the use and enjoyment of the heirlooms or any of them together with Dalham Hall under any lease capable of being made thereof provided that the tenant covenant or agree with my Trustees or Trustee to keep the same during his tenancy in repair and insured against loss or damage by fire so far as they are capable of being so insured and during any such tenancy my Trustees or Trustee shall not be liable for any loss damage or depreciation in respect of the heirlooms delivered to the tenant.

13. I direct that within two years after my death my Trustees or Trustee shall by means of moneys forming part of or raised by sale or mortgage of my South African property situate out of the United Kingdom pay off and discharge any incumbrances on the Dalham Hall Estate or any part thereof created by me and existing at my death and procure the incumbered property to be freed and discharged from such incumbrances and in the meantime shall out of the like moneys pay the interest payable in respect of such incumbrances.

14. Whereas I am not satisfied that the fortune of my said brother Francis Rhodes is sufficient to enable him to keep up the Dalham Hall Estate therefore I give to him out of the income of my South African property situate out of the United Kingdom an annuity of £2,000 during his life but only so long as he shall be entitled to the actual possession or to the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate under the limitations hereinbefore contained.

15. If at my death the aforesaid purchase from the said Sir R. Affleck shall not have been completed then I direct my Trustees or Trustee at the expense of my South African property situate out of the United Kingdom to pay the purchase-money for and in all respects to complete such purchase and I give them or him all sufficient powers and authorities to enable them or him to do so including power to raise money for such completion by the mortgage of the said purchased estate such mortgage being for the purpose of clause 13 hereof considered an incumbrance created by me existing at my death and I direct that the purchased estate shall be conveyed to the Trustees named in my said Will to uses necessary or proper to give effect to this present Codicil And subject as aforesaid I confirm my said Will and the said Codicil of the 11th day of October 1901.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Eighteenth day of January One thousand nine hundred and two.

Signed by the said Cecil John Rhodes as and for a second Codicil to his said Will in the presence of us present at the same time who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses. } C. J. RHODES.

A. Sawyer,
C. Pirmin,
Servants at the Burlington Hotel, W., London.

March 12 1902.

I make Dr. Jameson one of the Trustees to my Will with the same rights as Lord Milner Lord Rosebery Mr. Michell Lord Grey Mr. Beit and Mr. Hawksley.

C. J. RHODES.

Witness

G. J. KRIEGER.
A. HELALER.

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